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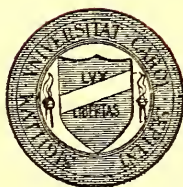
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A COLONIAL HISTORY OF ROWAN COUNTY  
NORTH CAROLINA

BY  
SAMUEL JAMES ERVIN, JR.

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# A COLONIAL HISTORY OF ROWAN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

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## CHAPTER I

### DESCRIPTION OF ROWAN COUNTY

The heirs of the eight noblemen to whom Charles II had granted Carolina in 1663 found that vast territory an unprofitable and unruly charge. In 1728, therefore, the owners of seven of the eight equal undivided shares offered to sell all their interest in Carolina to the Crown, and the proposition was accepted. In the following year the purchase was completed, the seven proprietors who surrendered their claims receiving 17,500 pounds sterling, and the relinquishment of the lands being confirmed by an act of Parliament. John, Lord Carteret, afterwards created Earl Granville, alone of the eight lords retained his share.<sup>1</sup>

In 1744, his part of Carolina was set off for him by grant from George II, all the territory lying between the Virginia line on the north and the parallel of 35° 34' on the south being allotted to him. The eastern boundary of this immense tract was the Atlantic Ocean and the western, the Mississippi River.<sup>2</sup>

At this time the portion of this grant west of the present eastern boundaries of Randolph, Guilford, and Rockingham counties was just being entered by enterprising settlers. It is with the region west of the above-mentioned boundary lines that this sketch is to deal. This region embraced the northern part of two of the three great natural divisions of North Carolina—the Piedmont section and the Mountain section.

The part included in the Piedmont is blessed by nature with countless streams and an endless succession of hills and valleys which increase as one goes westward. Its climate is invigorating and wholesome. The soil is very fertile, especially along the banks of the rivers and creeks. The earth contains great mineral wealth in the form of coal, iron, gold, and other metals, ores, and min-

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<sup>1</sup>Ashe, 217; Williamson, 26-27.

<sup>2</sup>Col. Rec., IV, x.

erals. Among the trees found in the forests are the white oak, the white hickory, the white ash, the elm, the maple, the beech, the poplar, the persimmon, the black walnut, the yellow pine, and the mulberry.

Most of what has been said of the Piedmont district is also applicable to the Mountain division. The Blue Ridge Mountains—a portion of the Appalachian Range—lie partly within its borders. Here the wild cherry, the white pine, the hemlock, the black birch, the white walnut, the chestnut, the beech, the locust, and many other trees grow. The mineral resources of this section are more abundant than those of the Piedmont. The Mountain region is above all else a land of health and beauty.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest visitor to this territory who recorded anything was John Lawson, the Surveyor-General of the Province of North Carolina. In December, 1700, accompanied by several other Englishmen and Indian guides, he left Charleston for an exploration of the northern province.<sup>4</sup> His tour extended as far west as the section later erected into Rowan County. The land embracing the southern part of the county as it now stands and the counties to the south he described as "Pleasant savanna ground, high and dry, having very few trees upon it, and those standing at a great distance. The land was very good and free from grubs or underwood. A man near Sapona (the Yadkin) may more easily clear ten acres of ground than in some places he can one; there being much loose stone upon the land, lying very convenient for making of dry walls or any other sort of durable fence. The country abounds likewise with curious, bold creeks, navigable for small craft, disgorging themselves into the main rivers that vent themselves into the ocean. These creeks are well stored with sundry sorts of fish and fowl, and are very convenient for the transportation of what commodities this place may produce."<sup>5</sup>

Lawson continued his journey a few miles further north, passing through a country which he characterized as "a delicious country; none that I ever saw exceeds it." Fine bladed grass, six feet high, grew along the creeks, and the sepulchres of dead In-

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<sup>3</sup>Hand-book of N. C., 22-46.

<sup>4</sup>Lawson, 19.

<sup>5</sup>Lawson, 80.



dians were seen. Lawson found the town of the Sapona Indians located in an open field about a mile square on the fertile and pleasant banks of the Sapona River, as the Yadkin was then called.<sup>6</sup> This town was near Trading Ford, a few miles east of the site of the present city of Salisbury. Trading Ford was so called because it was on the ancient Trading Path which traders from Virginia traveled at an early date in going to the Catawbas and other southern Indians.<sup>7</sup>

Lawson was delighted with the scenes around the Yadkin. He says: "This most pleasant river may be something broader than the Thames at Kingston, keeping a continual warbling noise, with its reverberating on the bright marble rocks. . . . One side of the river is hemmed in with mountainy ground, the other side proving as rich a soil as any this western world can afford."<sup>8</sup> A numerous train of swan and other water fowl were on the stream and many small birds sang upon its banks.<sup>9</sup>

The travelers were entertained by the old king of the Saponas, who proved very friendly to the white men. Neighboring tribes of Indians were the Toteros, who inhabited the "westward mountains," and the Keyauwees, who dwelt in a village about forty miles west of Trading Ford. These three nations were small, and at that time were planning to combine in order to strengthen themselves and become formidable to their enemies. About ten days before Lawson's arrival among them the Saponas captured five northern Indians. Indians from the north ranged over the country and were a terror to the less warlike tribes of the south. The Saponas were preparing to put the captives to death with cruel torture, but released them upon the request of the Toteros, some of whom, when taken prisoners by the northern Indians a short time before, had been kindly treated and permitted to return to their own people.<sup>10</sup>

The old king of the Saponas took much pride in several horses which he owned. Lawson was highly pleased with the country. Every step, he declared, presented some new object to his view.

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<sup>6</sup>Lawson, 81.

<sup>7</sup>Rumple, 15.

<sup>8</sup>Lawson, 81.

<sup>9</sup>Lawson, 83.

<sup>10</sup>Lawson, 82-84.

Beavers, swan, geese, and deer were plentiful in the neighborhood of the Yadkin. During the stay of the explorers at Sapona town a party of the Toteros, "tall, likely men," came down from the west "having great plenty of buffaloes, elks, and bears with other sort of deer amongst them." One of the Indian doctors acquainted Lawson with a large quantity of medicines that were produced in those parts.<sup>11</sup>

After remaining several days at Sapona Lawson's party made a two days trip to the westward. The country became more mountainous and many streams were crossed. At a distance of some thirty or forty miles west of the Yadkin they reached the town of the Keyauwees, situated five miles northwest of a rocky river called the Heighwaree. Near the town was another stream. The land was "more mountainous, but extremely pleasant and an excellent place for the breeding (of) sheep, goats, and horses or mules." The valleys were very fertile. The village of the Keyauwees was encircled by high mountains, and large cornfields adjoined the cabins of the savages. No grass grew upon the high cliffs and the growth of trees upon them was sparse. The earth in this region was of a reddish color, which Lawson said signified the presence of minerals.

The Keyauwees received the travelers with hospitality. Lawson lodged at the house of Keyauwees Jack, a Congaree Indian, who had obtained the chieftainship through marriage with the queen, for among the Indians descent was counted on the female side. The Keyauwees were unique in that most of them wore mustaches or whiskers—a habit rarely practiced by Indians.<sup>12</sup>

Two or three days were spent with the Keyauwees. Most of the members of Lawson's party desired to go straightway to Virginia, but he was determined to continue his course to the coast of North Carolina. He and one companion, therefore, bade farewell to the rest of the group. On the third day's journey, after passing over many waters and through rich lands, they reached the Haw River, whence they made their way to the coast of the province.<sup>13</sup>

Lawson did not penetrate the wilderness as far westward as the Catawba nation. Nor did he learn anything of the powerful

<sup>11</sup>Lawson, 84-85.

<sup>12</sup>Lawson, 87-91.

<sup>13</sup>Lawson, 92-105.

Cherokees who lived beyond the mountains and who at a future date were to make incursions into the settlements, bringing devastation and destruction with them. The Saponas, Keyauwees, and Toteros combined with several small tribes and removed to Virginia soon after Lawson's departure. After dwelling in Virginia, a few miles north of the Roanoke, for twenty-five years, they returned to Carolina and lived with the Catawbas.<sup>14</sup>

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## CHAPTER II

### THE SETTLEMENTS AND BOUNDARIES OF ROWAN COUNTY

The exact date of the appearance of settlers in Rowan County cannot be determined. We have already seen that long before the cabin of a permanent settler was erected traders from Virginia frequented the region in order to barter with the Indians. The chief contributors to the population were the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, the Germans, usually known as Pennsylvania Dutch, who adhered to the tenets of the Lutheran and German Reformed Churches, and the Moravians, or United Brethren, from Moravia and Bohemia. From time to time men belonging to no one of these groups came to the frontier, but such settlers formed a small part of the total number of inhabitants.

The Scotch-Irish were the most active and probably the most numerous part of the population. These people were Scotch in blood, being descendants of the Scotch whom the English rulers had placed on the confiscated lands of Irish rebels in the Province of Ulster, in north Ireland, during the seventeenth century. To distinguish them from the natives of Scotland they have received the name of Scotch-Irish.<sup>1</sup> Some forty years prior to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War they began to flock to America. Foote, in his "Sketches of North Carolina," assigns their migration to three causes, namely: religion, politics, and property.<sup>2</sup> Disabilities were imposed upon them because they were not members of the established church of Ireland; they desired more political

<sup>14</sup>Ashe, 180.

<sup>1</sup>Foote, 84-90.

<sup>2</sup>Foote, 120.

liberty than they enjoyed in the old world; and the ease with which land could be obtained in America was a third powerful incentive to their coming hither.<sup>3</sup>

Some came to Charleston and pushed into the frontier country from that place, but most of them landed in Pennsylvania and, after making some settlements in that province, turned southward, and by 1739 located in the Valley of Virginia.<sup>4</sup> The administration in Virginia was constantly opposed to religious freedom. Earl Granville disposed of his lands in Carolina upon favorable terms, for he desired to increase their value by rapid settlement.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, influenced by the inviting nature of the climate and soil, the peacefulness of the Catawba Indians and the laxity of North Carolina laws in comparison with those of Virginia on the subject of religion, the Scotch-Irish passed through the vacant lands in Virginia, in the neighborhood of their countrymen, and made homes for themselves in western North Carolina. As early as 1740 a few families were located on the Hico, Eno, and Haw rivers in the territory just east of Rowan.<sup>6</sup>

By the year 1745 the Scotch-Irish had established themselves in the fertile and well-watered area between the Yadkin and the Catawba, and previous to 1750 their settlements were scattered throughout the region from Virginia to Georgia.<sup>7</sup> The Scotch-Irish settled mainly in the country west of the Yadkin. Among these immigrants were the Nesbits, Allisons, Brandons, Luckeys, Lockes, McCullochs, Grahams, Cowans, Barrs, McKenzies, Andrews, Osbornes, Sharpes, Boones, McLauchlins, and Halls.<sup>8</sup> The Scotch-Irish have ever been known as a religious, brave, and liberty-loving people. Among other families from the British Isles who appeared in Rowan at an early date we find the names of Cathey, McCorkle, Morrison, Linville, Davidson, Reese, Hughes, Ramsay, Brevard, Winslow, Dickey, Braley, Moore, Emerson, Kerr, Rankin, Torrence, Templeton, Houston, Hackett, Rutherford, Lynn, Gibson, Frohock, Smith, Bryan, Little, Long, Steele, Bell, Macay, Miller, Blackburn, Craige, Stokes, Caldwell, Dunn, Gillespie, and many others.

<sup>3</sup>Williamson, 70-71.

<sup>4</sup>Ashe, 276.

<sup>5</sup>Williamson, 71.

<sup>6</sup>Col. Rec., V, 1193.

<sup>7</sup>Ashe, 276; Col. Rec., V, 1193.

<sup>8</sup>Rumple, 24.

The Scotch-Irish were soon followed by another stream of immigrants—the Germans who had previously located in Pennsylvania. The route which the German and Scotch-Irish settlers took in making the overland journey from Pennsylvania to western North Carolina is described by Colonel Saunders as follows:

On Jeffrey's map, a copy of which is in the Congressional Library at Washington City, there is plainly laid down a road called "the Great Road from the Yadkin River through Virginia to Philadelphia, distant 435 miles." It ran from Philadelphia through Lancaster and York to Winchester, thence up the Shenandoah Valley, crossing the Fluvanna River to Looney's Ferry, thence to Staunton River, and down the river through the Blue Ridge, thence southward, crossing Dan River below the mouth of Mayo River, thence still southward near the Moravian settlement to the Yadkin River, just above the mouth of Linville Creek and about ten miles above the mouth of Reedy Creek.<sup>9</sup>

The Germans did not extend their settlements quite so far west as the Scotch-Irish did. They were industrious and economical in their habits and formed a valuable part of the population. As the laws were written and expounded in English and all public business was transacted in that language, the Germans were incapable, in most instances, of participating in public affairs.<sup>10</sup> The process whereby they were naturalized was the taking of several oaths prescribed by law and the repeating and subscribing of the test. The test, as entered on the court records of the county, was in this form:

I, A. B., do believe in my conscience that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper or in the elements of bread and wine at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever.<sup>11</sup>

Among the early German settlers appear the names of Bernhardt, Heilig, Meisenheimer, Beard, Mull, Rintelman (Rendleman), Layrle (Lyerly), Kuhn (Coon), Friese, Eisenhauer, Suther, Winecoff, Cress, Walcher, Harkey, Savitz, Henkel, Moser, Braun (Brown), Lingle, Fisher, Berger, Lippard, Peeler, Holtzhauer, Kluttz, Roseman, Foet, Shupping, Beam, and Buin.

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<sup>9</sup>Col. Rec., IV, xxi.

<sup>10</sup>Rumple, 29.

<sup>11</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 521-522.



Other settlers from Virginia and the north came by a route further east that passed through the section now embraced by Caswell County.<sup>12</sup>

Immigrants poured into the western country very rapidly. In 1751 Governor Johnston informed the Board of Trade that settlers flocked into the province daily, mostly from Pennsylvania and other parts of America, but some from Europe. Many thousands had then come in and settled mainly in the west so that they had almost reached the mountains. In 1746 Matthew Rowan estimated that there were not more than one hundred fighting men in the entire western part of the province between Virginia and South Carolina. Seven years later he thought that there were then at least three thousand fighting men in the same territory, and stated that their numbers were increasing rapidly. These settlers were for the most part "Irish-Protestants" (Scotch-Irish) and Germans.<sup>13</sup>

These settlers, coming as they did in groups, located in neighborhoods to themselves, forming respectively Scotch-Irish and German communities, scattered throughout the wilderness, and maintaining their own customs, speech, and characteristics, and largely transmitting them to posterity.<sup>14</sup>

About 1750, Quakers from the north located at New Garden, in what is now Guilford County, and from time to time were joined by others of that sect so that a distinctly Quaker settlement was formed there.<sup>15</sup>

The bitter persecutions which they suffered in their native lands of Moravia and Bohemia for the sake of their religion and the desire to preach "the pure gospel of love" to the inhabitants of America and to preach to the Indians prompted the Moravians to seek homes in the western world. The Moravians were well known for their thrift and industry, and Earl Granville, who desired to people his grant in North Carolina with worthy settlers, made them a liberal offer.<sup>16</sup>

In the autumn and winter of 1752, Bishop Spangenberg, who was sent by the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church, to select a

<sup>12</sup>Ashe, 277.

<sup>13</sup>Col. Rec., IV, xxi; Col. Rec., V, 24, 25.

<sup>14</sup>Ashe, 277.

<sup>15</sup>Weeks, 104-105.

<sup>16</sup>Clewell, 1-3.

place for their settlement, made an extensive tour of western North Carolina. Leaving Edenton in September, on November 12th he camped on the Catawba near what he called the "Indian Pass." The nearest cabin was that of Jonathan Weiss, or Perrot, a hunter, twenty miles distant. The bishop found a number of hunters in the vicinity who lived like Indians and secured furs and skins for sale. A week later he was near Quaker Meadows, about two miles from where the town of Morganton now stands, which he considered to be fifty miles beyond the settlements. Bands of Cherokees pursuing game filled the woods. Continuing his course northward, he found remains which indicated that Indians had inhabited the country in earlier times.<sup>17</sup>

It being in the beginning of winter and his guide mistaking the way, Spangenberg's party entered the mountains where they endured great hardships and difficulties owing to the severity of the weather. Happening upon a branch of New River, they followed that stream to within fifteen miles of the Virginia line. Then, with the aid of a compass, they traveled directly southeast through the wilderness and finally reached the Yadkin River, after having been lost in the Blue Ridge Mountains for two weeks. Here—a few miles from the present town of Wilkesboro—they rested with a Welshman named Owen, who had built his cabin far from the settlements. Spangenberg understood that there was no other habitation within sixty miles.<sup>18</sup>

On December 27, the bishop reached the site of Wachovia, on Muddy Creek, in the present county of Forsyth. He surveyed about 73,000 acres of land. Spangenberg's Journal says "the most of this land is level and plain, the air fresh and healthy, and the water good."<sup>19</sup> More land was afterwards added, so that in August, 1753, Earl Granville conveyed 98,985 acres to the Moravians.<sup>20</sup> The grant received the name of the "Wachovia Tract" in honor of one of the titles of Count Zinzendorf, a leader of the Moravian Church of Austria.<sup>21</sup>

On April 3, 1753, a petition bearing the signatures of 348 of the inhabitants of the upper and frontier portions of Anson

<sup>17</sup>Col. Rec., V, 1 *et seq.*; Ashe, 278; Clewell, 6-9.

<sup>18</sup>Col. Rec., V, 1-14; Ashe, 278-279; Clewell, 8-9.

<sup>19</sup>Col. Rec., V, 14.

<sup>20</sup>Clewell, 12.

<sup>21</sup>Bernheim, 156.

County, which comprehended most of the western part of North Carolina, was read in the lower house of the General Assembly. The petitioners set forth the great difficulties they had to undergo in traveling the vast distance to the courthouse of Anson County and prayed that the frontier section of the county be erected into a new one.<sup>22</sup> Two days later Mr. Sampson introduced a bill to this effect, and the bill in its final form received the assent of Matthew Rowan, the acting governor, on April 12th.<sup>23</sup> The section of the act defining the boundaries of the new county, which was named in honor of Matthew Rowan, read as follows:

Be it enacted . . . that Anson County be divided by a line, to begin where Anson line was to cross Earl Granville's line, and from thence, in a direct line north, to the Virginia line, and that the said county be bounded to the north by the Virginia line, and to the south by the southermost line of Earl Granville's land; and that the upper part of said county, so laid off and divided, be erected into a county and parish, by the name of Rowan County and St. Luke's Parish; and that all the inhabitants of the westward of the said line, and included within the before-mentioned boundaries, shall belong and appertain to Rowan County.

The design was to include in Rowan all that part of Anson which lay within Earl Granville's tract, that is, all north of latitude 35° 34' as far north as the Virginia line. As near as can be determined, the eastern boundary of the new county was a line running north and south along the eastern boundaries of the present counties of Randolph, Guilford, and Rockingham. The southern boundary line, beginning at the southeast corner of Randolph, ran due west along Earl Granville's line, on the south side of Randolph, Davidson, Rowan, and Iredell, as they now exist, to the Catawba River a short distance above Beattie's Ford, thence due west, cutting into Lincoln County and running a few miles north of Lincolnton, through Cleveland and Rutherford, through Hickory Nut Gap, and on through Buncombe, Haywood, Jackson, Macon, and Cherokee, and on to the westward indefinitely. According to the terms of the act Rowan extended as far west as the South Seas. At the time, however, the region west of the moun-

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<sup>22</sup>Col. Rec., V, 59-60.

<sup>23</sup>Col. Rec., V, 53.

<sup>24</sup>State Rec., XXXIII, 390.



tains was unknown and the French territory of Louisiana practically made the Mississippi River the western limit.<sup>25</sup>

In 1754, the act to establish Rowan County was revoked by George II simultaneously with the acts establishing Orange and Cumberland, which had been passed a short time before. Arthur Dobbs, the newly arrived governor, in a letter to the Board of Trade, dated November 9, 1754, recommended that such be done.<sup>26</sup> The reasons assigned for the revocation of these acts are that the General Assembly had begun to exercise more authority than was entirely agreeable to the royal government in England, and by the establishment of new counties the Assembly was increased in membership too rapidly.<sup>27</sup> In 1756 the Assembly itself repealed the act creating Rowan.<sup>28</sup> In the same year, however, with the consent of the king, Rowan, Orange, and Cumberland were reestablished with the same boundaries and limits as formerly, and all deeds and conveyances of land made during the period of the revocation were declared valid.<sup>29</sup> Salisbury had already been selected as the county-seat of Rowan and a village had commenced to grow up there.<sup>30</sup>

In the autumn of the year in which the Wachovia Tract was conveyed to the Moravians the first colonists, twelve unmarried Brethren, came overland from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where a strong Moravian settlement existed, and founded Bethabara. The group consisted of the Rev. Bernhard Adam Grube, the pastor, Jacob Loesch (Lash), the warden or business manager, Dr. Hans Martin Kalberlahn, a physician, Hans Peterson, a tailor, Christopher Merkly, a baker, Herman Loesch (Lash), a farmer, Erich Ingebretsen, a carpenter, Johannes Lisher, a farmer, Henrich Feldhausen, a carpenter, Jacob Lung, a gardener, Friedrich Jacob Pfeil, a shoemaker and tanner, and Jacob Beroth, a farmer.<sup>31</sup> The zeal with which the Moravians labored in their new home is best described by Dr. Clewell.

During the first year not less than fifty acres of land had been prepared for farming purposes. They recognized that, in this sparsely set-

<sup>25</sup>Rumple, 32-33.

<sup>26</sup>Col. Rec., V, 151.

<sup>27</sup>Rumple, 34-35.

<sup>28</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 446-447.

<sup>29</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 470-471.

<sup>30</sup>Col. Rec., V, 355.

<sup>31</sup>Clewell, 13-31.

tled section, it would be difficult to secure provisions, hence at the very outset they began to raise cattle and to plant a variety of grain for their future use and comfort. In the first summer they gathered wheat, corn, flax, millet, barley, oats, buckwheat, turnips, cotton and tobacco, in addition to the garden vegetables. Fruit trees were planted and various kinds of medicinal herbs. . . . Diversity of industries is said to be the real test of the prosperity of a place. In 1754, with the great strain of clearing land and building houses, we find the record of trade commenced with their neighbors, and the notes indicate that they had in operation the following: Carpenter shop, shoe shop, tailor establishment, tannery, pottery, cooper shop, blacksmith shop.<sup>32</sup>

In October, 1755, two years after the establishment of Rowan County and St. Luke's Parish, upon the request of the Moravians of Wachovia, the Assembly passed an act creating Wachovia into a separate and distinct parish with all the privileges and immunities which the other parishes of the province enjoyed. The new parish was called Dobbs in honor of the Governor.<sup>33</sup>

In 1759 eight married couples from Bethabara and others founded Bethania, three miles northwest of Bethabara. Settlers continued to come to Wachovia. In 1766 the settlement of Salem was begun.<sup>34</sup> A few years later Friedberg, which had gradually grown up in southern Wachovia, and Friedland, in the southeast of the tract, which was partly settled by Germans from Broad Bay in the present State of Maine, were formally set off and recognized.<sup>35</sup>

The growth of Rowan in population was continual and rapid from the beginning, except during the Indian wars of 1759-60, when the Cherokees devastated the outlying settlements. At that time immigration almost ceased.<sup>36</sup> The immigrants obtained titles to Earl Granville's lands through his agents, Francis Corbin and James Innes.<sup>37</sup> The land offices in his territory were closed at his death in 1763.<sup>38</sup> The offices remained closed until 1773, when Governor Josiah Martin was appointed agent.<sup>39</sup> In the confusion existent just before the Revolution the taking out of grants, how-

<sup>32</sup>Clewell, 24-25.

<sup>33</sup>Col. Rec., V, 558; State Rec. XXIII, 438-9; Fries, 22-25.

<sup>34</sup>Fries, 26, 28.

<sup>35</sup>Clewell, 76-79.

<sup>36</sup>Ashe, 303.

<sup>37</sup>Rumple, 34.

<sup>38</sup>Ashe, 320.

<sup>39</sup>Ashe, 410.

ever, does not seem to have been resumed. Despite the fact that no titles to land could be obtained after 1763 settlers continued to move into the Granville tract. Much discontent arose among the inhabitants, some dreading the expected reopening of the land offices because of the abuses of the agents, and others being displeased because they could not obtain title to the lands improved by their efforts.<sup>40</sup> It was during this time that the Jersey Settlement on the east side of the Yadkin, some nine miles from Salisbury, was made by settlers from New Jersey.<sup>41</sup>

Prior to Granville's death the quarrel which had arisen between him and Henry McCulloh was settled. Sixteen hundred square miles of land between the Uwharrie and the Catawba had been set aside from Henry McCulloh, who had received grants on the headwaters of the Neuse, Pee Dee, and Cape Fear rivers from the Crown about the year 1736.<sup>42</sup> As the land between the Uwharrie and the Catawba lay within Earl Granville's territory a disagreement as to ownership naturally resulted. The controversy was concluded by a compact that McCulloh should become Granville's tenant, and in lieu of all other rents, pay an annual sum of 400 pounds from 1757 until 1760, after which date he was to pay 4 shillings for every hundred acres retained by him, but was to reconvey and surrender to Granville all lands not then settled.<sup>43</sup>

About 1761 Henry E. McCulloh, his son, came to North Carolina and began to dispose of his father's lands in Rowan for reasonable prices. In four years time he disposed of and laid off all of his father's tracts in Rowan and gave deeds for the same to the purchasers.<sup>44</sup>

At the beginning of 1766 Governor Tryon said he thought that North Carolina was being settled faster than any other province, and that in the preceding autumn and winter about one thousand wagons with families accompanying them passed through Salisbury.<sup>45</sup> As the population multiplied and settlements were made in the outlying parts of the county, the inhabitants of communities distant from the seat of government began to demand the erection

<sup>40</sup>Ashe, 320, 401.

<sup>41</sup>Ashe, 380.

<sup>42</sup>Ashe, 277, 253.

<sup>43</sup>Ashe, 292.

<sup>44</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 15-16.

<sup>45</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 248.

of counties in their respective neighborhoods, in order that the administration of public affairs might be carried on with greater convenience. Bills were introduced in the Assemblies of 1766 and 1768 to erect the western part of Orange and the eastern part of Rowan into a new county. These, however, failed to be enacted into law.<sup>46</sup>

In January, 1771, Griffith Rutherford, a member of the Assembly from Rowan, introduced a bill for ascertaining the boundary line between Rowan and the counties of Mecklenburg and Tryon, which lay to the south.<sup>47</sup> This measure was expedient because the settlers on the borders of the three counties refused to pay their taxes in any of them. Lord Granville's line had never been surveyed so far westward. Thomas Neal, Thomas Polk, Matthew Locke, Griffith Rutherford, and Peter Johnston were appointed to run the line, and the inferior courts of the three counties were authorized to levy a tax sufficient to defray the expense.<sup>48</sup>

At the same session the General Assembly recognized the urgent necessity of setting up new counties within the vast territory embraced by Rowan. A bill was passed establishing Guilford County and Unity Parish in the region lying between Salisbury and Hillsboro.<sup>49</sup> Guilford, which was named for Francis North, Earl of Guilford, and father of Lord North, Prime Minister of George III during the Revolution, was composed of territory taken from Rowan and Orange. The portion taken from Rowan was that which now makes up the counties of Guilford, Rockingham, and Randolph. John Pryor, Edmund Fanning, Alexander Martin, Matthew Locke, John Dunn, Griffith Rutherford, and John Campbell were appointed a committee with authority to run the lines and contract with workmen for the building of the courthouse, prison, and stocks for Guilford County.<sup>50</sup>

Another act passed by the same Assembly established Surry County and St. Jude's Parish in the north of Rowan.<sup>51</sup> Surry was named in honor of Lord Surrey, a prominent member of Parliament who opposed the taxation of the American colonies by

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<sup>46</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 325, 364, 915, 929.

<sup>47</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 422-423, 384.

<sup>48</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 841-842.

<sup>49</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 363.

<sup>50</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 823-826.

<sup>51</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 380.

that body. Governor Tryon considered these acts very timely because of the too great extent of Rowan. He declared that the creation of Guilford out of Rowan and Orange was "a truly political act," for it separated the main body of the Regulators from Orange and put them in the new county.<sup>52</sup>

By the act of January, 1771, the boundary between Rowan and Surry began at a point in the Guilford line forty-two miles north of the Granville line, and ran due west parallel to the southern limit of Granville's tract.<sup>53</sup> This line split the Wachovia Tract, or Dobbs Parish, into halves to the disadvantage of the Moravians. The inhabitants of Dobbs Parish found it more convenient to transact their business in and to attend the courts of Surry County. Accordingly they petitioned the Assembly to pass a law including the entire Wachovia Tract in Surry.<sup>54</sup> Although it was asserted that such alteration of the boundary would "greatly facilitate the inhabitants of the north part of Rowan and enable the people of Surry to erect their public buildings," the lower house rejected a bill for the alteration of the line at its meeting in December, 1771.<sup>55</sup>

In 1773 the request of the residents of Wachovia was acceded to. The Assembly enacted that the line between Rowan and Surry should begin at a point in the line dividing Guilford and Rowan counties, thirty-six miles north of the southeast corner of Rowan, and run west to the range separating the waters of the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, and thence follow that ridge and the mountains northward to the Virginia line. The boundary was parallel to the southern line of the Granville grant save where the bounds of Wachovia interfered, all of this tract being included in the county of Surry, and Dobbs Parish being established separate and distinct from St. Jude's. A committee was appointed to ascertain the boundaries and take charge of the erection of the public buildings of Surry. Griffith Rutherford, Anthony Hampton, John Braby, Robert Lanier, and Christian Ruiter were the members of the committee.<sup>56</sup> During the following year, as the work on the

<sup>52</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 527.

<sup>53</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 844-846.

<sup>54</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 47.

<sup>55</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 153-190.

<sup>56</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 443, 583; State Rec., XXIII, 906-907.



public buildings was unfinished and a majority of the commissioners resided in Rowan, a new commission composed of residents of Surry was chosen by the Assembly.<sup>57</sup>

The attempts to establish a county in western Rowan were unsuccessful, though Rutherford proposed bills for that purpose in 1771 and 1773.<sup>58</sup> By 1771 the western settlements had reached far into the mountains. Many of the settlers lived more than one hundred miles from Salisbury, and as there were no magistrates among the far outlying settlements the administration of the laws in those parts was a matter of great difficulty.<sup>59</sup>

During colonial times the only records regularly kept of the number of inhabitants were those computed in terms of the taxables. A taxable was a white male above sixteen years of age or a negro or mulatto slave of either sex above twelve years.<sup>60</sup> The returns for 1754 show that the number of taxables in Rowan one year after its organization were 1,170, 1,116 being whites and 54 blacks.<sup>61</sup> Thirteen years later the number of taxables had increased to 3,643.<sup>62</sup> The population continued to grow proportionately. The people of Rowan were sturdy, hardy, industrious, brave and enterprising, and did their "bit" in laying foundations for the new nation that was to be born in the western world.

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## CHAPTER III

### COLONIAL SALISBURY

The first Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions met somewhere in the county in June, 1753. The place of its meeting is unknown.<sup>1</sup> The court chose a site for the public buildings of Rowan, and Edward Hughes was directed to obtain a grant of forty acres from Earl Granville's agents for this purpose. John Dunn and John Whitsett were appointed to see that the land was laid off in a suitable manner, and the latter was awarded the contract for

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<sup>57</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 927; State Rec., XXIII, 973.

<sup>58</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 116, 117, 461, 506.

<sup>59</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 91-92.

<sup>60</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 487.

<sup>61</sup>Col. Rec., V, 152, 320, 575.

<sup>62</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 539.

<sup>1</sup>Rumple, 35.

building the courthouse. This house, the court directed, should be of framework, weatherboarded, thirty feet long and twenty wide, a story and a half high, with two floors, the lower one raised two feet above the ground. It was to be provided with an oval bar and a bench raised three feet from the floor. There was to be a good window behind the bench, with glass in it, and a window near the middle of each side, and a door in the end opposite the bench.<sup>2</sup>

The deed for the township lands is dated February 11, 1755. On that day William Churton and Richard Vigers, Granville's agents, conveyed 635 acres of land for "Salisbury Township" to James Carter and Hugh Foster, trustees for Rowan County. The land upon which the public buildings had been erected was included in this tract.<sup>3</sup> Salisbury received its name from Salisbury, England, on the banks of the Avon River.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Rumple says that the courthouse was not completed before 1756, although the jail, pillory, and stocks were finished and in use before that date.<sup>5</sup> Governor Dobbs, however, who passed through Salisbury in the summer of the preceding year, found the town just laid out, the courthouse built and seven or eight log houses erected.<sup>6</sup> In 1755 and 1756 John Ryle, John Lewis Beard, Peter Arrand, Jacob Francks, Archibald Craige, James Bower, and Thomas Bashford and Robert Gillespie were licensed to conduct ordinaries, or inns, in Salisbury.<sup>7</sup> Among the other early residents of the town appear James Alexander, who died there in 1754, John Dunn, an Irishman, and an Oxford man, William Temple Cole, who conducted an inn, and John and Thomas Frohock.

As most of the settlers built their homes where they could obtain large and fertile farms, the growth of Salisbury was slow. In early times it was composed of the public buildings, the residences of some of the county officials, a store or two, a hatter shop, a blacksmith shop, and a few inns. Nevertheless, Salisbury was a place of considerable importance. Here the county courts, the

<sup>2</sup>Rumple, 44-47.

<sup>3</sup>Rumple, 47.

<sup>4</sup>Hunter, 166.

<sup>5</sup>Rumple, 46.

<sup>6</sup>Col. Rec., V, 355.

<sup>7</sup>Rumple, 42.

courts of oyer and terminer and general jail delivery, and the Superior Courts of the western counties were held.<sup>8</sup>

In 1766 Salisbury returned its first member to the Assembly as a borough town.<sup>9</sup>

In 1770 a special statute was passed by the Assembly called "An act for regulating Salisbury." The preamble stated that the town had "a healthy, pleasant situation, well watered, and convenient for inland trade." It was enacted that the county courts and the superior courts for the District of Salisbury and all public elections should thenceforth be held at Salisbury. The sheriff, the clerk of the court for the county, and the register were required to maintain their offices in the town. The citizens were required, under penalty of fine, to clear, repair and pave the streets whenever it was deemed necessary, and they were forbidden to throw rubbish into them. Such citizens as allowed their "hogs, shoats, or pigs" to run at large in the town should pay 20 shillings proclamation money to the party whose property was damaged thereby, and forfeit the hogs. It was lawful for any one to kill swine running at large.

In order to afford protection against fires, every householder was compelled to keep two "sufficient" leather buckets and a ladder always ready for use. The title to the burying ground was vested in a body of commissioners appointed by the act. Immoderate riding and driving were prohibited under penalty of 5 shillings. All persons owning land within the original plan of the town and adjoining either side of Corbin and Innes streets, the two main streets of the village, were required to build a "house, twenty-four feet by sixteen feet in the clear, of brick, stone, or hewed logs, with either a good brick or a stone chimney," within three years after the passage of the act. Failure to do so entailed a forfeiture of the land to the town. Those persons owning a lot or part of a lot adjoining the two streets running parallel to Corbin and Innes streets were required to build a house of like dimensions within four years. It was provided, however, that these conditions should not be construed to affect or invalidate the claim of any infant or married woman.

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<sup>8</sup>Rumple, 61-63.

<sup>9</sup>N. C. Manual (1913), 381.



All persons in Salisbury, including servants, slaves, and travelers, were allowed free access to all springs and natural fountains of water in the town and the town common, and trees standing upon the town common could be cut down by any person for sale or use. The town commissioners were authorized to select and lay out a suitable place for a market and other public buildings.

William Steele, John Dunn, Maxwell Chambers, John Lewis Beard, Thomas Frohock, William Temple Cole, Matthew Troy, Peter Rep, James Kerr, Alexander Martin, and Daniel Little were appointed town commissioners. They were to hold office for life. In case of removal of any commissioner the county court had power to appoint his successor. Other provisions in the interest of government and sanitation were included in the act.<sup>10</sup>

All acts passed before the Revolution for building new public buildings in Salisbury in place of the old resulted in failure. In 1764 a poll tax was laid on the taxables of Rowan, Anson, and Mecklenburg, the counties which composed Salisbury District, for repairing the jail and building a wall around the same and for erecting a jailer's house.<sup>11</sup> Laws passed by the Assembly in 1766 and 1771 for building a new jail, pillory, and stocks were not carried out, the War of the Regulation preventing their execution.<sup>12</sup> In 1771 the courthouse at Salisbury was said to be "greatly decayed and in so ruinous a condition that courts cannot be held there." A committee was appointed to contract with workmen for building a new courthouse on the site of the old one, and a tax was laid on the taxables of Salisbury District for this purpose.<sup>13</sup> As the tax authorized was insufficient, an additional tax was laid on the people of Rowan County. The commissioners being residents of different counties and living at a great distance from each other these efforts came to naught. Another committee, appointed in 1774, likewise failed to perform the trust reposed in them, and the old courthouse continued in use.<sup>14</sup>

The members of the Assembly from the borough of Salisbury were John Mitchell (1766-1768), John Dunn (1769 and 1770-1771), and Hugh Montgomery (January, 1773, and 1773-1774).

<sup>10</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 810-813.

<sup>11</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 621-622.

<sup>12</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 750-752, 863.

<sup>13</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 866.

<sup>14</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 927, 971-972.

The members in the Provincial Congresses were William Kennon (August, 1774), Hugh Montgomery, and Robert Rowan (August, 1775), and David Nisbet (April, 1776).<sup>15</sup>

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## CHAPTER IV

### RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS

The contest between England and France for supremacy in North America, which had ceased for the time being with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, was renewed in 1754. Most of the tribes of North America were in alliance with the enemy. The frontier of North Carolina was placed in a very precarious situation. At the beginning of the war the Cherokees and Catawbias were friendly to the frontiersmen, but soon the savages began to molest the whites. There was great uneasiness among the people of Anson and Rowan because they did not know at what moment the Indians might take up the tomahawk against the settlements.

Early in the year 1754 1,000 pounds in proclamation money—that is, in money which was issued by the provincial government and which was greatly depreciated in value—was appropriated to buy arms for the poorer inhabitants of Rowan and Anson.<sup>1</sup> The expenditure of this money was entrusted to commissioners in the two counties, James Carter and John Brandon being the commissioners in Rowan.<sup>2</sup> The commissioners wasted a part of the sum and neglected to apply all of it for the purpose designated. The final result of the misuse of these public funds was that the bonds given for the faithful execution of the trust were put to suit. In November, 1757, James Carter was expelled from his seat in the Assembly as member for Rowan, and in the following year judgments were obtained against the commissioners and their sureties for the amounts unaccounted for.<sup>3</sup>

In May, 1754, complaints were made by the magistrates and

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<sup>15</sup>N. C. Manual (1913), 331, 408.

<sup>1</sup>Col. Rec., V, 109.

<sup>2</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 394.

<sup>3</sup>Col. Rec., V, 892, 1082.

militia officers of Rowan that a party of Indians, supposed to have been Catawbas, had committed several gross abuses on the people of Rowan and Anson.<sup>4</sup> Alexander Osborne and James Carter were directed by the Assembly to investigate the alleged grievances and to represent the same to the Indians. In August they consulted with King Hagler and other warriors of the Catawba nation at the house of Matthew Toole, who acted as interpreter. It developed that some of the young warriors of the Catawbas had been guilty of some misconduct. King Hagler laid the blame for their actions upon the whites who sold "strong spirits" to the braves. The Catawbas promised to give assistance to the North Carolinians and Virginians in case the war continued.<sup>5</sup>

A few weeks later Matthew Rowan, who as president of the Council acted as governor during the interim between Gabriel Johnston's death and Arthur Dobbs' arrival, received intelligence from Colonel Clark, of Anson, that sixteen whites had been murdered and ten carried into captivity by Indians. Thereupon Rowan sent the available supply of powder and lead to the frontier and ordered Colonel Smith, the commanding officer of Rowan County, to coöperate with Colonel Clark.<sup>6</sup> These facts serve to give an idea of the state of uncertainty prevalent in the west.

The defeat of General Braddock by the French and Indians on the Monongahela in July, 1755, left the western frontier of the southern colonies at the mercy of the hostile Indians. The news of the defeat reached Governor Dobbs while he was inspecting conditions in the frontier country. He summoned the field officers of the militia of Rowan and Anson to meet him at the Yadkin. At the meeting he ordered that fifty of the most active men of the militia of each county be placed under the command of Captain Hugh Waddell. He also directed that the militia should join Waddell when necessary, and that Waddell should assist them in case of an incursion.<sup>7</sup> Captain Waddell was at the west at this time in charge of a company of frontiersmen.<sup>8</sup> Though he was not a resident of Rowan he owned land in the county and was

<sup>4</sup>Col. Rec., V. 175-176.

<sup>5</sup>Col. Rec., V. 141 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup>Col. Rec., V. 144d.

<sup>7</sup>Col. Rec., V. 357.

<sup>8</sup>Ash. 289.

prominently connected with public affairs in the west for a considerable time.<sup>9</sup>

Upon his return to New Bern in September Dobbs addressed the Assembly in regard to the dismal state of affairs existing in the western counties. He asked that body to grant aid for the defense of the distressed inhabitants of the frontier and for offensive warfare against the enemy, and recommended the erection of a fort for refuge to the settlers. He had chosen the site for such a fort between Third and Fourth creeks in Rowan during the summer.

In this emergency the Assembly willingly agreed to appropriate funds for the building of a fort on the western border. Fort Dobbs, as the stronghold was called, was built in 1756 under the supervision of Captain Waddell.<sup>10</sup> It stood on an eminence on Third Creek, good springs near by furnishing water for the garrison.<sup>11</sup> Soon after its completion Richard Caswell and Francis Brown were sent by the Assembly to view the western settlements; to find sites for other fortifications, and to inspect Fort Dobbs. Their report included the following quotation:

And that they had likewise viewed the State of Fort Dobbs, and found it to be a good and Substantial Building of the Dimentions following (that is to say) The Oblong Square fifty-three feet by forty, the opposite Angles Twenty-four feet and Twenty-two, in height Twenty-four and a half feet as by the Plan annexed Appears, the Thickness of the Walls which are made of Oak Logs regularly diminished from sixteen Inches to Six, it contains three floors, and there may be discharged from each floor at one and the same time about one hundred Musketts; the same is beautifully situated in the fork of Fourth Creek, a Branch of the Yadkin River. And they also found under the command of Capt. Hugh Waddell Forty-six Effective men Officers and Soldiers, as by the List to the said Report Annexed Appears, the same being sworn to by the said Capt. in their Presence, the said Officers and Soldiers Appearing well and in Good Spirits—Signed the 21st day of December, 1756.

In the same year Captain Waddell entered into an offensive and defensive treaty with the Catawbias and Cherokees in behalf of the Assembly. Atta-Kulla-Kulla, of the Cherokeee nation, whom

<sup>9</sup>Waddell, 32.

<sup>10</sup>Ashe, 291; Waddell, 30-31.

<sup>11</sup>Ashe, 290.

<sup>12</sup>Waddell, 35-36.

Hewat "esteemed to be the wisest man of the nation and the most steady friend of the English," and Oraloswa, King Hagler, and others of the Catawba tribe, were the representatives of the Indians who agreed to the compact. By one of the stipulations of the treaty North Carolina undertook to erect a fort for the protection of the Catawbas. It is not known where this fort was built, but the location is thought to have been at Old Fort in McDowell County.<sup>13</sup> After making the treaty Waddell remained on the frontier with his command until November, 1757, when he took his seat in the Assembly as successor to James Carter.<sup>14</sup> Captain Andrew Bailey was in command of another company employed in Rowan.<sup>15</sup>

Having endured some discomforts at the hands of the Indians and being disturbed by accounts of the massacre of their Brethren in Pennsylvania, the inhabitants of Bethabara, in Wachovia, fortified their town with stockades. This was done in July, 1756.<sup>16</sup> An independent company of militia was formed by the Moravians for defense, and Jacob Loesch was commissioned as its captain.<sup>17</sup>

In 1757, after returning from a campaign in Virginia, a party of Catawbas robbed a wagon. They were followed and the stolen goods were retaken. Thereupon the Catawbas returned and insulted the Chief Justice, who was holding court in Salisbury. In May, 1758, a petition was read in the Assembly setting forth that murders recently committed on the Dan River in the northern part of Rowan County had caused the settlers of the forks of the Yadkin to abandon their settlements and praying that Captain Bailey, who had succeeded Waddell, and his company, or some other, be continued for their protection.<sup>18</sup>

The Cherokees, however, adhered to the provisions of the treaty of 1756. Hugh Waddell, who was now a major, led one hundred men from the western frontier on General Forbes's successful expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758. They were accompanied by a number of Cherokee warriors.<sup>19</sup> As a convenience to the

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<sup>13</sup>Waddell, 32-33.

<sup>14</sup>Col. Rec., V, 897-898; Waddell, 33.

<sup>15</sup>Ashe, 291.

<sup>16</sup>Clewell, 36-42.

<sup>17</sup>Col. Rec., V, 810.

<sup>18</sup>Col. Rec., V, 1, 1010.

<sup>19</sup>Ashe, 291-292.



Cherokee allies, commissaries were appointed in the western counties to furnish necessities for the Indians while passing to and from Virginia in the service of the colonies. George Smith was commissary for Rowan.<sup>20</sup> The reports of the Committee of Public Claims of the province show that others were allowed claims for furnishing provisions to the Indians during their transit to and from Virginia.<sup>21</sup> Many Cherokees and Catawbias going north went through the Moravian communities, where they were provided with food and kindly treated.<sup>22</sup>

When returning from the campaign against Fort Duquesne, worn out with fatigue, a party of the Cherokees seized a number of horses running wild in the backwoods of Virginia to aid them on their homeward journey. The backwoodsmen of that province fell upon them and killed twelve or fourteen of the warriors. This act provoked the Cherokees to hostility.<sup>23</sup>

In May, 1759, Governor Dobbs informed the Assembly that he had received expresses stating that several murders had been committed by Indians, thought to have been Cherokees, on the western frontier. Major Waddell was given the commission of colonel and two companies of provincials to protect the inhabitants of the west. He was authorized to call out the militia of Anson, Rowan, and Orange if the Indian devastations should continue. In the autumn Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina conducted an expedition against the Cherokees. The provincials and 500 militia under Colonel Waddell were ordered to coöperate with Lyttleton. Though the great majority of the militia refused to march outside the borders of North Carolina, Waddell continued his march with the remainder until ordered back by Lyttleton, who patched up a peace with the Indians.<sup>24</sup>

Now the Indians burst upon the settlements with all their fury. Captain Ashe, in his "History of North Carolina," describes the situation in this manner:

In October, 1759, the people who had made their homes on the waters of the Yadkin and Catawba heard with dismay that the Creeks and

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<sup>20</sup>Col. Rec., V, 835, 853, 854.

<sup>21</sup>Col. Rec., V, 978 *et seq.*; Col. Rec., VI, 210.

<sup>22</sup>Ashe, 290.

<sup>23</sup>Waddell, 63-64.

<sup>24</sup>Col. Rec., V, 1-ii.

Cherokees, theretofore friendly, had declared war against the English. Bands of Indians began to pass the defiles of the mountains and roam along the foothills. A reign of terror set in. Accounts of atrocities and butcheries and of destroyed homes came thick and fast to Salisbury and Bethabara. They were intensely harrowing, while some of the escapes were marvelous. Many brave men, reluctant to abandon their homes, fortified them with palisades, and forts or strong-houses were erected where neighboring families could assemble for safety. The men slept with their rifles at hand, and the most resolute were in dread of stealthy attack, of ambush, and of having their houses burned at night. It was then that Fort Defiance and other forts in that region were hastily constructed by the people.

The narratives of those who escaped were heartrending, while many men, women and children fell victims to the cruel tomahawk of the merciless foe. Few particular accounts of these individual experiences have been preserved; but all the section west of the Catawba and of the upper Yadkin was desolated.<sup>25</sup>

On February 27, 1760, the Indians attacked Fort Dobbs, but were beaten off by the small garrison under Colonel Waddell and Captain Bailey.<sup>26</sup>

Though atrocities were perpetrated in the immediate vicinity by the score Bethabara was not attacked. This village was a city of refuge to the distressed. For six weeks the Cherokees devastated the surrounding country and waited for an opportunity to assail the town. Once when a large body had stealthily surrounded the village, they retired at the sound of the village bell, fearing that they had been discovered. Again, under similar circumstances, they retired at the sound of the watchman's trumpet. By Easter, 1760, the residents and refugees of Bethabara were secure, for 400 soldiers had arrived at the town.<sup>27</sup>

After the reduction of Canada, Colonel Grant of the British Army was sent south to lead an expedition against the Cherokees. Early in 1761 he invaded their country by way of South Carolina and defeated the hostile Indians. The Cherokees sued for peace and the war came to an end.<sup>28</sup>

The end of the struggle was followed by rapid expansion to the west. In April, 1766, Governor Tryon wrote the Board of Trade

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<sup>25</sup>Ashe, 299-300.

<sup>26</sup>Col. Rec., VI, 229-230.

<sup>27</sup>Ashe, 300-301.

<sup>28</sup>Martin, Vol. II, 150-151.

that Fort Dobbs was then in ruins, and the inhabitants of the province had extended their settlements upwards of seventy miles beyond the fort.<sup>29</sup>

In May of the following year Tryon went to Salisbury to have the boundary between the people of North Carolina and the Cherokees marked out. The design was to separate their respective lands so as to put an end to the disputes between the whites and the Cherokees in the west, which had resulted in bloodshed more than once. At Salisbury Tryon was joined by John Rutherford, Robert Palmer, and John Frohock, who had been appointed to run the line. They were later joined by Alexander Cameron, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern colonies. On May 21st they left Salisbury accompanied by detachments from the militia regiments of Rowan and Mecklenburg.<sup>30</sup> Colonel Hugh Waddell was in command of the escort. The staff officers were Edmund Fanning, adjutant general; Isaac Edwards, aide-de-camp to the governor; Captain William Frohock, commissary; and Rev. John Wills, chaplain. The detachment from each county numbered thirty-two men, the one from Rowan being commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Frohock, and the one from Mecklenburg by Lieutenant-Colonel Moses Alexander.<sup>31</sup> Altogether, including servants, the party numbered ninety-six men.<sup>32</sup> On May 31st the Indians met Tryon and his escort, and the governor made a "talk" to them. Some of the band were sent back to Salisbury with an order for presents worth 175 pounds, which the Assembly had appropriated for the Indians as a sign of friendship. The Cherokees honored Tryon by giving him the title of *Ohiah Equah*, or Great Wolf.<sup>33</sup> The meeting occurred in South Carolina.

Tryon departed before the real work of running the line began. On June 4 the commissioners, with a guard of twenty men and the assistance of Cameron and Cherokee representatives, began the actual survey. They ran the line as far north as Tryon Mountain in the present county of Polk, south of the territory included in Rowan.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 203.

<sup>30</sup>Haywood, 56-57.

<sup>31</sup>Col. Rec., VII, xiii, 991; Haywood, 57.

<sup>32</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 995.

<sup>33</sup>Haywood, 58.

<sup>34</sup>Haywood, 57-58.



## CHAPTER V

THE COURTS AND OFFICIALS OF ROWAN COUNTY AND  
SALISBURY DISTRICT

Before the Revolution Salisbury was the judicial center of Western North Carolina. In addition to the county court of pleas and quarter sessions, the superior court of justice, and the court of oyer and terminer and general jail delivery for the western counties were held there.

The court of pleas and quarter sessions had both judicial and administrative functions. It had jurisdiction over minor cases, and the local government of the county was vested in it. The court was composed of the justices of the county, and it assembled at the county-seat four times annually. As we have already seen, the court of pleas and quarter sessions met for the first time somewhere in the county in June, 1753. The justices who presided over the courts during the first year were Walter Carruth, Thomas Lovelatty, James Carter, John Brandon, Alexander Cathey, Thomas Cook, Thomas Potts, George Smith, Andrew Allison, John Hanby, Alexander Osborne, James Tate, John Brevard, and Squire Boone, the father of the great hunter and explorer Daniel Boone, who was reared in Rowan County.<sup>1</sup>

The first court busied itself with registering the brands which the settlers employed in distinguishing their cattle and in selecting a site for the public buildings. Constables were appointed to preserve the peace in the different sections of the county.

The grand and petit juries for the first court were composed of Henry Hughey, John McCulloch, James Hill, John Burnett, Samuel Bryant, John McDowell, James Lambath, Henry Dowland, Morgan Bryan, William Sherrill, William Morrison, and William Linvil. The county officers were Richard Hilliar, deputy attorney-general; John Dunn, clerk of court; James Carter, register; John Whitsett, treasurer; Francis Corbin, colonel of the Rowan regiment of foot; and Scotton Davis, captain in Corbin's regiment.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Rumple, 38.<sup>2</sup>Rumple, 39-41.

In 1755 John Dunn and William Monat presented their commissions as attorneys to the court. Of Monat nothing can be discovered.<sup>3</sup> John Dunn was a prominent lawyer and held many public trusts. He was at one time attorney for the Crown, being succeeded by Waighstill Avery in 1775.<sup>4</sup>

Prior to 1770 the following men served as sheriff of Rowan, in the order named: David Jones, Edward Hughes, Benjamin Miller, William Nassery, Francis Locke, Griffith Rutherford, Andrew Allison, and William Temple Cole.<sup>5</sup>

The members of the Assembly and Provincial Congresses from Rowan were as follows:

#### ASSEMBLY

1746 (47)-1754. James Carter and John Brandon, who took their seats at the thirteenth session.

1754-1760. John Bravard and James Carter. The latter was expelled for misapplication of public funds and was succeeded by Hugh Waddell, who took his seat at the fifth session.

1760. Hugh Waddell and John Frohock.

1761. John Frohock and Alexander Osborne.

1762 (April and November). John Frohock and John Kerr.

1764-1765. John Frohock and William Giles. The lower house seated John Harrold.

1766-1768. John Frohock and Griffith Rutherford.

1769. Griffith Rutherford and Christopher Nation.

1770-1771. Griffith Rutherford and Matthew Locke.

1773 (January). Matthew Locke and Griffith Rutherford.

1773-1774. Griffith Rutherford and Matthew Locke.

1775. Griffith Rutherford and Matthew Locke.

#### PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES

August, 1774. Moses Winslow and Samuel Young.

April, 1775. Griffith Rutherford, William Sharpe, and William Kennon.

August, 1775. Matthew Locke, James Smith, Moses Winslow,

<sup>3</sup>Rumple, 43.

<sup>4</sup>Col. Rec., X, 139.

<sup>5</sup>See Col. Rec., VIII, 280-281; Col. Rec., IX, 575.

Samuel Young, William Kennon, William Sharpe, and Robert Lanier.

April, 1776. Griffith Rutherford and Matthew Locke.<sup>6</sup>

In 1754 the governor chose Salisbury as the proper place for holding the courts for the counties of Rowan, Anson, and Orange.<sup>7</sup> At the same time an act was passed establishing a superior court of justice and a court of oyer and terminer and general jail delivery for these counties to be held at Salisbury.<sup>8</sup> Orange was soon taken away and put into a different district, and in 1760 and 1762 Salisbury District was composed of Rowan and Anson.<sup>9</sup> Other frontier counties were added to the district from time to time.

The superior court of justice had jurisdiction over "all pleas of the crown (treason, felony, and other crimes committed in breach of the peace), suits at common pleas, legacies and estates of intestates, whether original or on appeal from the inferior courts."<sup>10</sup>

Robert Jones, the attorney-general of the province, prosecuted suits in the superior court of justice of Salisbury District against the commissioners of Rowan and Anson who had misapplied the public funds entrusted to them for the defense of the frontier.<sup>11</sup>

At March Term, 1766, James Hasell, who had been appointed Chief Justice of the province by Governor Tryon, qualified by taking the oaths prescribed by law. Edmund Fanning qualified as Associate Justice for the District of Salisbury. He resigned the office of attorney-general of the court, which he had theretofore occupied, and was succeeded by William Hooper.<sup>12</sup> The fact that Edmund Fanning was a judge at this time seems to have been overlooked by historians.

At September term Chief Justice Hasell and Judge Fanning presided. Isaac Edwards took the oaths of an attorney and was appointed by the court as attorney for the Crown in the absence of Mr. Hooper, who arrived several days late. Frederick Fraley, George Logall, George Adwicke, and Christopher Blake were naturalized.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup>N. C. Manual (1913), 381-382, 408.

<sup>7</sup>Col. Rec., V, 260.

<sup>8</sup>State Rec., XXV, 274-287.

<sup>9</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 874, 946.

<sup>10</sup>Raper, 156.

<sup>11</sup>Col. Rec., V, 1082-1084.

<sup>12</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 191-192.

<sup>13</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 255-256.

Salisbury District was now composed of Mecklenburg, Anson, and Rowan counties.<sup>14</sup>

September term of 1767 was held by Associate Justice Fanning. Richard Henderson, of Granville County, was appointed attorney for the Crown during the absence of the attorney-general. Chief Justice Hasell and William Hooper appeared later.<sup>15</sup> Richard Henderson afterwards purchased a large tract of land lying in Tennessee and Kentucky and employed Daniel Boone to blaze the way for a colony, which was established at Boonesborough, Kentucky, just before the Revolution. This tract of land was purchased from the Cherokees.<sup>16</sup>

The superior court of justice in March, 1768, was held by Maurice Moore and Richard Henderson, who took the oaths of Associate Justices of the colony. William Hooper was appointed attorney for the Crown, and James Forsyth qualified as a lawyer.<sup>17</sup>

In September, Chief Justice Martin Howard and Judges Henderson and Moore presided. William Hooper produced a commission constituting him Crown attorney.<sup>18</sup>

At the session in March of the following year, held by Judge Henderson, Thomas Frohock gave bond and qualified as clerk of the court for Salisbury District.<sup>19</sup> In 1772 Adlai Osborne, of Mecklenburg, was appointed to this position.<sup>20</sup>

The third colonial court which assembled at Salisbury was the court of oyer, terminer and general jail delivery. This court had jurisdiction of criminal cases.<sup>21</sup> The court met in June and December of each year.<sup>22</sup>

A typical term was that held in June, 1775, for Rowan, Anson, Mecklenburg, Tryon, Surry, and Guilford, the counties which then made up Salisbury District. Judge Alexander Martin, of Rowan, presided. Adlai Osborne was appointed clerk, and Benjamin B. Boote took the oath as deputy attorney-general for the district. William Kennon's name appears in the records as a practicing

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<sup>14</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 477.

<sup>15</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 521-522.

<sup>16</sup>Ashe, 429.

<sup>17</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 690-691.

<sup>18</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 838.

<sup>19</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 19.

<sup>20</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 318-319.

<sup>21</sup>Raper, 159.

<sup>22</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 946.

lawyer. Many criminal cases were disposed of at this term. Thomas Ward was convicted of stealing 11 shillings and sentenced to receive "thirty-nine lashes on his bare back, well laid on, at the public whipping-post." James Patterson was acquitted of the charge of counterfeiting and David Jones of murder. William Woodliff was found not guilty of horse-stealing. Stephen Herring and Joseph Pettoway, being convicted of robbery, and Oliver Wallace of murder, the court sentenced them to be hanged "by the neck" until they were "dead, dead, dead," and the sheriff of Rowan was directed to put the sentence into execution on the conventional day—Friday.<sup>23</sup>

The execution of a criminal was not a rare occasion in those days. There were a score of crimes which bore the death penalty, and, as appears from the records of Rowan, the judges did not scruple to put these laws into effect. The blow of the law fell swiftly upon the guilty.

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## CHAPTER VI

### THE REGULATORS

The question as to the character of the Regulation has been often and fully discussed by the historians of North Carolina. Some think that the Regulators were an oppressed people contending for justice; others that they were a misguided mob seeking to prevent the enforcement of the law. It is not the purpose in this sketch to side with either group, but merely to state the occurrences of the trouble in Rowan County.

The Regulators complained of the injustice of the officials, of extortion, of corrupt courts, and of being compelled to pay taxes in money, of which there was a scarcity in circulation. The movement was most prevalent in Orange, Anson, and Rowan, though it existed to a less degree in many other counties. The discontented men formed a systematic organization. Meetings were held and petitions were sent to Governor Tryon, but they were either refused or ignored.<sup>1</sup> One of the chief policies of the Regulators was the refusal to pay taxes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Col. Rec., X, 1-9.

<sup>1</sup>Tompkins, 37-38.

<sup>2</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 637.

The people were especially bitter towards Edmund Fanning, of Hillsboro, and John Frohock, of Salisbury. Rednap Howell, "the Poet Laureate of the Regulators," lampooned them in this wise:

Says Frohock to Fanning : "To tell the plain truth,  
When I came to this country I was but a youth;  
My father sent for me; I warn't worth a cross;  
And then my first study was to steal for a horse;  
I quickly got credit, and then ran away,  
And haven't paid for him to this very day."  
Says Fanning to Frohock: "'Tis folly to lie,  
I rode an old mare that was blind of an eye;  
Five shillings in money I had in my purse,  
My coat it was patched, but not much the worse;  
But now we've got rich, and it's very well known  
That we'll do very well if they'll let us alone.<sup>3</sup>

The Regulators resisted all efforts on the part of the sheriffs of Rowan to collect taxes. In October, 1763, Francis Locke informed the inferior court that two thousand taxes for the year 1766 were unpaid, and that the collection of them was violently opposed by the Regulators. He attempted to "take, seize, and destrain a sorrel gelding" belonging to James Dunlap for his taxes for 1764, 1765, and 1766, but Dunlap and fifteen others unlawfully rescued the horse from Locke.<sup>4</sup>

Andrew Allison, who was sheriff in 1765, was able to collect only two hundred and five taxes.<sup>5</sup> The situation became so perplexing that in 1770 there was no sheriff in Rowan, Adam Allison who had been appointed by Tryon being unable to give security for the discharge of the duties of the office. His friends did not doubt his integrity or honesty, but feared that the confused state of the county would involve them in many suits.<sup>6</sup>

In April, 1768, Edmund Fanning, of Hillsboro, wrote Tryon that the Regulators claimed that they could command a powerful force from Anson, Rowan, and Orange. He asked Tryon for orders to raise the militia and advised immediate war upon the in-

<sup>3</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, xli.

<sup>4</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 856, 857.

<sup>5</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 227.

<sup>6</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 64.



surgents. Tryon gave him permission to call out the militia of Bertie, Halifax, Granville, Rowan, Mecklenburg, Anson, Cumberland, and Johnston.<sup>7</sup>

About the 1st of July Tryon went to Hillsboro, where Husbands and Butler, who had been arrested several months before, were to be tried. Husbands was a Quaker preacher and the prime mover in the Regulation. Tryon visited Rowan and enlisted troops for the protection of the court.<sup>8</sup> Nearly two hundred of the Rowan militia and three hundred of the Mecklenburg attended the court at Hillsboro.<sup>9</sup> At this time matters quieted a little, but soon the situation became critical.

An excellent opportunity for a peaceable solution of the problem in Rowan occurred in March, 1771. The Regulators of the county decided to visit Salisbury superior court. On March 6 four or five hundred assembled on the west bank of the Yadkin. Hearing of their plans, Alexander Martin and John Frohock went to them and found some armed and some unarmed. The Regulators said that their intention was not to disturb the court or to injure the person or property of any one, but to petition for a redress of grievances against the officers taking exorbitant fees, and that their arms were for defense. Good order prevailed, threats being made by only a few of the lower characters.

They were informed that the judges did not deem it prudent to hold court in Salisbury. The Regulators replied that there would have been no danger for the Chief Justice, but as to the other judges they were silent. In behalf of the officers of Rowan, Martin and Frohock offered to give the Regulators satisfaction for their complaints, and the Regulators selected a committee to confer with the officers.

The Regulator committee proposed to leave every complaint to the decision of men chosen by the two parties. They selected Herman Husbands, James Graham, James Hunter, and Thomas Person, and the officers chose Matthew Locke, John Kerr, Samuel Young, and James Smith. This committee was to meet in May and arbitrate and settle every difference. Only the officials of

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<sup>7</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 115. 748.

<sup>8</sup>Col. Rec., VII, xxii.

<sup>9</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 886; Tompkins, 38.

Rowan County, and those voluntarily, were included in the compact.<sup>10</sup>

On the 7th the officers agreed "to settle and pay unto any and every person within the county any and all such sum or sums of money as we or our deputies have taken through inadvertency or otherwise over and above what we severally ought to have taken for fees more than the law allowed or entitled us so to receive, without any trouble or law for the recovery of the same." John Frohock, William Frohock, Griffith Rutherford, Thomas Frohock, Benjamin Miller, John Brawley, Andrew Allison, Francis Locke, John Dunn, Alexander Martin, William Nazary (Nassery), and William Temple Cole signed the agreement, they being or having been officers of the County.<sup>11</sup>

Thereupon the Regulators returned quietly to their homes. Three companies of Rowan militia and seventy or eighty men from Mecklenburg were in Salisbury ready to oppose them had any violence been offered.<sup>12</sup>

When Governor Tryon received intelligence of the proposed settlement with the Regulators he immediately wrote Alexander Martin a letter which included the following quotation:

This mode . . . of your agreement with the insurgents, by including officers who are amenable only for their public conduct to the tribunal of their country, is unconstitutional, dishonorable of government and introductive of a practice the most dangerous to the peace and happiness of society. On the 18th of last month it was determined by consent of his Majesty's Council to raise forces to march into the settlements of the insurgents in order to restore peace to the country upon honorable terms and constitutional principles. This measure is not intended to impede, nor has it the least reference to, the agreement between you gentlemen and the Regulators, though it is expected in the execution of it more stability will be added to our government than by the issue of Convention ratified at Salisbury.<sup>13</sup>

Tryon's rebuke and disapproval of the plan caused its failure. If Tryon had been farsighted probably the difficulties could have been settled without a struggle. As it was, however, both factions prepared for the final test of strength. Governor Tryon sent Gen-

<sup>10</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 533 *et seq.*

<sup>11</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 521-522.

<sup>12</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 535-536.

<sup>13</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 545.

eral Hugh Waddell through Rowan and Mecklenburg to raise troops. Waddell enlisted one hundred in Mecklenburg and almost twice that number in Rowan. When marching to join Tryon, Waddell was intercepted at the Yadkin by a larger force of Regulators and turned back, so that he did not join the governor until after the battle.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile Tryon proceeded westward with ten or twelve hundred men.<sup>15</sup> He met the forces of the insurgents at Alamance Creek and defeated them, thereby bringing open opposition to an end.<sup>16</sup>

From May 30th to June 20th, the supreme court of oyer and terminer was held at Hillsboro for the trial of captured Regulators. Twelve were convicted of high treason and six of them were executed. The most distinguished victim was Benjamin Merrill, who had formerly been a captain of the militia in Rowan. In concluding his sentence, the Chief Justice said:

I must now close my afflicting duty by pronouncing upon you the awful sentence of the law; which is that you, Benjamin Merrill, be carried to the place whence you came, that you be drawn from thence to the place of execution, where you are to be hanged by the neck; that you be cut down while yet alive, that your bowels be taken out and burnt before your face, that your head be cut off, your body divided into four quarters, and this to be at his Majesty's disposal; and the Lord have mercy on your soul.<sup>17</sup>

It is impossible to conceive of a more brutal, barbarous sentence being pronounced.

Soon afterwards the Assembly passed an act allowing the sheriffs an additional year in which to collect the taxes which had not been paid.<sup>18</sup> James McCoy was appointed to collect those for 1770, the year when no sheriff served Rowan.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Tompkins, 38-39.

<sup>15</sup>Tompkins, 39.

<sup>16</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 609; Haywood, 125-126.

<sup>17</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 643.

<sup>18</sup>State Rec., XXV, 520-521.

<sup>19</sup>State Rec., XXV, 521-522.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE CHURCHES OF EARLY ROWAN

The early inhabitants of the county were a distinctly religious people. Many of them had come to the new world that they might worship God in their own way. Consequently, as soon as they were settled in their new surroundings they proceeded to found places of worship.

## THE PRESBYTERIANS

The destruction by fire of the early records of Orange Presbytery has rendered it difficult to give an account of the different Presbyterian churches with the dates of their establishment. The Presbyterians formed a considerable part of the population of Rowan, most of the Scotch-Irish being of this faith. In the list of taxables for 1767 it is remarked that the population was "mostly Presbyterians."<sup>1</sup>

A congregation was organized before Rowan was taken from Anson County. On January 17, 1753, John and Naomi Lynn conveyed twelve acres of land, more or less, "to a congregation belonging to ye Lower meeting house, between the Atking River and ye Catabo." It is stated that this congregation adhered to a minister belonging to the Synod of Philadelphia. On the following day another deed was made conveying an additional tract of twelve acres to the same congregation. This church was first called the Lower Meeting House. Being in the vicinity of James Cathey's home, it was later called Cathey's Meeting House, and finally Thyatira. No record of its first elders and members is extant.

Further west, near the present town of Statesville in Iredell County, was the Fourth Creek congregation, which was later divided among the churches of Fourth Creek, Concord, and Bethany. Fourth Creek congregation was organized and its boundaries were defined by the two missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Spencer and McWhorter, who visited it in 1764. Fourth Creek church, however, was in existence long before that time. It is said that Fourth Creek church was collected into a congregation as early as 1751

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<sup>1</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 541.

and its place of worship selected by 1756. The Rev. John Thompson appeared in this locality as early as 1751. He resided near the historic Centre Church. Mr. Thompson preached at Fourth Creek and other stations in Rowan for about two years. He was a very influential pastor. People came twenty and twenty-five miles to hear his sermons and "sometimes he baptized a score of infants at once." In 1773, the people who made up the congregation of Fourth Creek were divided among 196 families of 111 different names. All of these communicants lived within ten miles of the church.<sup>2</sup>

In 1753 the Synod of Philadelphia sent two missionaries, Mr. McMordie and Mr. Donaldson, to visit Virginia and North Carolina. They were directed by the Synod "to show special regard to the vacancies of North Carolina, especially betwixt Atkin and Catawba rivers."<sup>3</sup>

In 1755 the Rev. Hugh McAden made a missionary tour through North Carolina.<sup>4</sup> Early in September he arrived in eastern Rowan, and thence continued his course westward, preaching at several meeting houses and in private homes. Sometimes he preached to congregations "pretty regular and discreet," but sometimes he found them "solemn and attentive, but (with) no appearance of the life of religion." He delivered a sermon at the meeting house which had been erected in the Jersey Settlement, and to the congregation at Cathey's, and at several other houses of worship west of the Yadkin. In the latter part of October he passed on into Mecklenburg County.<sup>5</sup>

In the same year the Synod of New York directed the Rev. John Brainard and the Rev. Elihu Spencer to supply vacancies in North Carolina. They do not seem to have done so, for there is no record of their visit.

For ten years the congregations of the Presbyterians held together, though no regular minister appeared.<sup>6</sup> No doubt, from time to time, itinerant preachers passed through Rowan and preached at the meeting houses and in private homes. In 1764

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<sup>2</sup>Rumple, 333-335.

<sup>3</sup>Foote, 159.

<sup>4</sup>Caruthers, 94.

<sup>5</sup>Foote, 167-169.

<sup>6</sup>Rumple, 336.



and 1765 the Rev. Messrs. Spencer and McWhorter visited the county and fixed the limits of the different congregations. A new congregation called Centre was established, its name being derived from the fact that it was composed of territory between Fourth Creek and Thyatira. The Centre congregation lived in Mecklenburg and in that part of Rowan which now lies in Iredell County. It appears that this region was filled with various preaching places before Spencer and McWhorter persuaded the inhabitants to combine into one church.<sup>7</sup>

In 1765 Fourth Creek and Thyatira united in a call to the Rev. Mr. Spencer, who had returned to New Jersey. They sent wagons all the way to that province to bring his family to Rowan, but he declined to accept the call. Thyatira was without a regular pastor until 1772. Then Rev. Mr. Harris became its minister and remained about two years.<sup>8</sup> The Rev. Samuel E. McCorkle became the pastor of Thyatira in 1777, and James Hall, the soldier-preacher, became the minister of Fourth Creek Church one year later.<sup>9</sup>

The Presbyterians did not found a church in Salisbury until about the year 1821.<sup>10</sup>

There was a Presbyterian meeting house in eastern Rowan (now Guilford) before 1768. In that year Adam Mitchel conveyed an acre of land to John McKnight and William Anderson, "trustees for the Presbyterian congregation on the waters of North Buffalo." This congregation belonged to the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. The deed shows that a "meeting house and a study house" had already been erected.<sup>11</sup> The building designated as a "study house" was probably a school. The inferior court of Rowan licensed the North Buffalo meeting house soon afterwards.<sup>12</sup> The church was situated near the present site of Greensboro.<sup>13</sup>

In 1764 the Rev. Henry Pattillo, a Presbyterian divine, who labored in Orange, established a church called Alamance about

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<sup>7</sup> Foote, 36, 433-434.

<sup>8</sup> Rumple, 336-337.

<sup>9</sup> Foote, 324, 354.

<sup>10</sup> Rumple, 342-343.

<sup>11</sup> Col. Rec., VII, 857-859.

<sup>12</sup> Col. Rec., VIII, 507.

<sup>13</sup> Foote, 233.



seven miles from Greensboro.<sup>14</sup> These two churches secured as their pastor Dr. David Caldwell, a Pennsylvanian by birth and a graduate of Princeton. In 1766 he married Rachel, the daughter of the Rev. Alexander Craighead, of Sugar Creek Church, in Mecklenburg, and settled with his congregations of Buffalo and Alamance.<sup>15</sup> Caldwell established a school in the neighborhood about 1767. This school obtained the name of the "Log College," and was the means of training a number of the foremost men of North Carolina.<sup>16</sup>

At a meeting of the Presbytery at Buffalo in March, 1770, David Caldwell, Hugh McAden, Joseph Alexander, Henry Pattillo, Hezekiah Balch, and James Criswell petitioned the Synod of Philadelphia and New York for the organization of a new presbytery, to be called Orange. Their petition was granted.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE GERMAN REFORMED AND LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN ROWAN

The German Reformed Church originated in Switzerland, its doctrines being derived from the Swiss reformer, Ulric Zwingli, who was a contemporary of Martin Luther. This Church differed from the Lutheran upon the question of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and other theological doctrines. It is a Calvinistic church.<sup>18</sup> Denying Luther's theory of consubstantiation, Zwingli regarded the sacrament as efficacious merely for its commemorative and social aspects.<sup>19</sup>

The Germans who came to Rowan from Pennsylvania and settled along Second Creek were members of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. Being too few in numbers to erect houses of worship for each of the two denominations, they united in building a temporary structure on the lands of a Mr. Fullenwider. This church was called the Hickory Church and stood on the site now occupied by St. Peter's Lutheran Church. The date of its erection is not given, but no doubt it was built quite early, for the section was settled by German immigrants about 1750. For a number of

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<sup>14</sup> Foote, 233.

<sup>15</sup> Col. Rec., V, 1219; Caruthers, 26.

<sup>16</sup> Caruthers, 30-31.

<sup>17</sup> Col. Rec., V, 1213; Caruthers, 96-97.

<sup>18</sup> Rumple, 435-436.

<sup>19</sup> Hulme, 281.

years there was no pastor to minister to the needs of those who worshiped at the Hickory Church.<sup>20</sup>

Before Hickory Church obtained a minister the Lutherans in and around Salisbury formed a congregation. This church was the first Lutheran church organized in North Carolina and was named St. John's. John Lewis Beard, a prominent and wealthy resident of Salisbury and a Lutheran by profession, was bereaved by the death of a daughter. Her remains were buried in a lot containing nearly an acre of ground belonging to her father. Desirous that the grave of his daughter should never be disturbed, Mr. Beard donated the lot to the German Lutheran Church. On September 9, 1768, he conveyed the land to the trustees of the church. It was stipulated that ministers of the Church of England and the Reformed Church might utilize the church when not used by the Lutherans. Soon after the lot was granted to them the Lutherans erected a log church upon it. This structure was the first house of worship built in Salisbury. The lot is now known as the Lutheran graveyard, or the Salisbury Cemetery.<sup>21</sup>

Where the Germans were to obtain a pastor was a difficult problem to solve. As there was a scarcity of ministers in Pennsylvania, it was futile to consider the possibility of securing one there.<sup>22</sup> As some three thousand German Protestants were located in Rowan, Orange, Mecklenburg, and Tryon counties and their numbers were rapidly increasing by birth and immigration, sixty Lutheran families residing on Second Creek in Rowan decided to seek help from the Protestants of Europe. They declared that the want of a minister of their denomination had produced "a great ignorance of the word of God and a melancholy dissoluteness of living," and feared that such evil "must provoke the Almighty God to anger and vengeance." They appointed two of their number, Christopher Layrle, of Mecklenburg County, and Christopher Rintelman, of Rowan, to seek aid among the Protestants of England, Holland, and Germany for securing and supporting a minister and schoolmaster who spoke the German tongue. The Rev. Mr. Drage, the Episcopal minister of St. Luke's Parish, pronounced their purpose

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<sup>20</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 744, 759; Bernheim, 244-245; Rumble, 437.

<sup>21</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 758-759.

<sup>22</sup>Bernheim, 254.

laudable, and Governor Tryon countenanced their plans and referred their requests to the Bishop of London and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The undertaking met with the approval of the Society at its meeting in London, July 19, 1771. The Society promised that if Layrle and Rintelman raised such a sum as would afford a reasonable prospect of establishing a fund adequate for the permanent support of a minister and schoolmaster, it would contribute to the subscription and give other encouragement to their efforts.<sup>23</sup>

Rintelman and Layrle went to Europe in 1772. They first went to London and then to Hanover, and through the kind efforts of "the late Consistory Counselor, Götten," obtained the Rev. Adolph Nussman as their pastor and Mr. Gottfried Arndt as schoolmaster. Nussman and Arndt arrived in North Carolina in 1773.<sup>24</sup> Among those who contributed to the fund which enabled the Germans to secure their minister and schoolmaster were the Bishop of London, the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Granville, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Governor Tryon.<sup>25</sup>

The Rev. Adolph Nussman was a man of scholarly attainments and a devout, self-sacrificing and pious Christian.<sup>26</sup> He preached for a year to the combined congregation of Reformed and Lutheran members at the Hickory Church. Dissensions arising between the two denominations, they separated. The Lutherans built what is still known as the Organ Church, but what was formerly called Zion's. The adherents of the Reformed Church erected a structure four miles west of Gold Hill, in south Rowan. This church was named Grace Church, though it is frequently called Lower Stone Church. The site of the building was purchased from Lorentz Lingle.<sup>27</sup> At the same time the Rev. Adolph Nussman was ministering to the people of the Second Creek settlement, he preached at St. John's in Salisbury. Before Organ Church was finished he left Rowan and went to St. John's Church in Mecklenburg. In 1775 Gottfried Arndt, who had been instructing the German youth,

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<sup>23</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 630-631.

<sup>24</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 762-763; Bernheim, 256-257.

<sup>25</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 632.

<sup>26</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 759.

<sup>27</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 744, 760.

was ordained a minister of the Lutheran Church, and he served Organ and St. John's churches until the close of the Revolution.<sup>28</sup>

#### THE BAPTISTS IN ROWAN

Information as to the Baptists in early Rowan is very meagre. When the Rev. Hugh McAden passed through this section in 1755 he found a meeting house in the Jersey Settlement. There was much confusion in the congregation, many of whom were Baptists and several professing to be Presbyterians. One cause of the trouble arose from the labors of a Mr. Miller, a Baptist minister.<sup>29</sup> With the aid of a Rev. Mr. Gano, Miller established a Baptist Church in the Jersey Settlement.<sup>30</sup>

About the year 1755 Shubal Stearns came to eastern Rowan, now Randolph, and in a few years had a church on Sandy Creek with a membership of 606 persons. At the same time Daniel Marshall had charge of a Baptist Church on the Uwharrie, and Joseph Murphey was minister to a congregation on Deep Creek in the present county of Surry. Dr. Caruthers says that other Baptist ministers went about preaching from place to place, and that there was a church on Abbott's Creek, and others elsewhere.<sup>31</sup>

Dr. Rumple says that there was no organization of Methodism in the county before the Revolution.<sup>32</sup>

#### THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN ROWAN

The royal government of the province attempted to make the Church of England the established church of North Carolina. Many acts were passed with this end in view. We have already seen that St. Luke's Parish was established simultaneously with Rowan County and included the same territory until Wachovia was set off under the name of Dobbs Parish. The freeholders, that is, men owning fifty acres of land or a lot in some town, were required, under penalty of twenty shillings, to elect twelve vestrymen to serve three years. The vestrymen so elected had to subscribe an oath that they would "not oppose the doctrine, discipline,

<sup>28</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 759, 760, 763; Bernheim, 260-261.

<sup>29</sup>Foote, 167.

<sup>30</sup>Rumple, 445.

<sup>31</sup>Caruthers, 91.

<sup>32</sup>Rumple, 367.

and liturgy of the Church of England as by law established." If a dissenter was elected and failed to qualify, he was liable to a fine. The vestry was authorized to levy a tax of ten shillings on each taxable in the parish for the erection of churches or chapels, the payment of the salaries of ministers, the purchasing a glebe for the building of a parsonage.

According to an act of 1765, the minister of a parish was to receive an annual salary of one hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence and a fee of twenty shillings for every marriage solemnized in the parish, whether he performed the service or not, provided he did not neglect nor refuse to do so.<sup>33</sup>

The inhabitants of the west paid little attention to the vestry and parish laws.

By the marriage acts of the province no minister or magistrate could perform the rite of marriage without a license or the publication of banns. The parish minister, if there were one, should be entitled to the marriage fee unless he refused or neglected to perform the ceremony. The Presbyterian ministers in the west performed the marriage service without license or publication of banns. An act passed early in Tryon's administration made all such marriages valid and permitted Presbyterian ministers, regularly called to any congregation, to celebrate the rite of marriage when a license was issued. By a law of 1770 the ministers of the same denomination were authorized to perform the service by the publication of banns, but the law was disallowed by the authorities in England.<sup>34</sup>

The marriage and vestry acts were extremely unpopular in the west. Petitions were presented to the Assembly asking their repeal. One from Mecklenburg states that if Rowan, Mecklenburg, and Tryon counties "were wholly relieved from the grievances of the marriage act and the vestry acts, it would greatly encourage the settlement of the frontiers, and make them a strong barrier to the interior parts of the province against a savage enemy."<sup>35</sup>

Little is known of the early clergymen of the Church of England. Upon the petition of the people of Rowan, a Mr. Miller

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<sup>33</sup>Ashe, 385; Rumple, 72-74.

<sup>34</sup>Ashe, 382-386.

<sup>35</sup>Col. Rec., X, 1016.



was ordained minister. He lived irregularly and wandered about from parish to parish. It is not known that he settled in Rowan.<sup>36</sup> In 1766, Tryon wrote the Board of Trade that the Rev. Mr. Micklejohn had just gone to St. Luke's.<sup>37</sup> Nothing further is recorded of him.

No attempt was made to put the parish and vestry laws into force in Rowan until about 1770. Some time prior to that date more than one hundred inhabitants of the county petitioned for a "lawful vestry."<sup>38</sup>

There seems to have been a number of members of the Church of England in Rowan, though they did not make up any considerable part of the population. They were principally found in Salisbury and the Jersey Settlement.<sup>39</sup> It is impossible to estimate the number with any degree of accuracy. The late Hon. John S. Henderson, in his interesting sketch on "Episcopacy in Rowan" in Rumble's history, thinks that they amounted to one-fourth or one-third of the entire population.<sup>40</sup> This estimate, however, is undoubtedly too large if applied to the whole of Rowan.

The first clergyman of the Church of England who settled in Rowan was the Rev. Theodorus Swaine Drage, who came to the county about 1769 and attempted to organize St. Luke's Parish on a permanent basis. He was successful in having a chapel erected in the Jersey Settlement.<sup>41</sup> His letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts portrays the situation in Rowan. Tryon had received repeated applications from the people for a clergyman, and he was largely responsible for Drage's going to St. Luke's. Drage claimed that two-thirds of the population were of the Church of England, but his statements are not borne out by other records. The "Irish Dissenters" had the power of government vested in their hands, for they had titles to their lands. Many of the other settlers had come into the county since the closing of the land offices and had been unable to secure titles to the lands which they occupied.

<sup>36</sup>Col. Rec., VI, 1040.

<sup>37</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 260.

<sup>38</sup>Williamson, 258.

<sup>39</sup>Rumble, 70.

<sup>40</sup>Rumble, 383.

<sup>41</sup>Rumble, 384.



Mr. Drage was very active in his labors. Upon his arrival he found the English churchmen "disheartened and dispersed," but soon he had forty preaching places where he ministered to "seven thousand souls, men, women, and children." Between December 20, 1769, and the same date in 1770, he baptized eight hundred and two persons. Their ages varied from less than a year to sixty years, the majority being infants. A Rev. Mr. Cupples had paid a visit to St. Luke's during the preceding summer and baptized many.

Mr. Drage's efforts to establish the parish on a legal and permanent foundation were less fruitful. At an election held Easter Monday, 1770, the Dissenters, having control of a majority of the votes, elected a vestry, all of whom were Dissenters and two of whom were elders. The vestry refused to qualify. The same procedure had been practiced in the preceding year. The voters declared that "their purpose in voting was not as to who should compose the vestry, but that there might be none." The members of the Church of England petitioned for a removal of their incapacity to vote for want of deeds, but the Assembly did not grant their request. Mr. Drage considered a petition of the Presbyterians praying that they might be relieved from paying towards the support of the parish minister and that their clergy might be permitted to perform marriages by the publication of banns as "an act directly leveled at the Constitution."<sup>42</sup> In theory he was right. The mistake, however, was in striving to thrust an established church upon an unwilling and headstrong people.

The contest between Drage and the Dissenters continued to grow warm. The unfortunate clergyman seems to have received no salary and to have been dependent upon a few fees and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for his support. He found friends only in the Lutherans and in Governor Tryon.<sup>43</sup> He informed Governor Martin, Tryon's successor, that the clerk of court encouraged the people who obtained marriage licenses to have the rites performed by the magistrates in preference to him, and concealed the number of licenses granted in

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<sup>42</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 502-504.

<sup>43</sup>Col. Rec., VIII, 506-507.

order to deprive him of the fees to which the parish minister was entitled.<sup>44</sup> By February, 1773, the Dissenters succeeded in expelling Drage by withholding his salary and thereby forcing him to leave the parish.<sup>45</sup> No other clergyman of the English church appeared in Rowan before the Revolution.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### EDUCATION IN ROWAN

The record of education and the early schools of Rowan is very meagre. Most of the inhabitants possessed at least an elementary knowledge of reading, writing and the principles of mathematics. The Germans had Luther's translation of the Bible and their Union Hymn Book. At this time the *old field schools* were established and taught by citizens who had better educations than the average. There must have been a number of these schools in old Rowan. The boys spent their leisure hours in playing "town-ball," "bull-pen," "cat" and "prisoner's base," and the girls amused themselves with "blind-man's bluff," "drop-the-handkerchief," "fox and geese," and "chichama-chichama-craney-crow." Dr. Rumple says: "The passing traveler could easily identify the log schoolhouse, by the bell-like tones of the mingled voices of the boys and girls as they studied their spelling and reading lessons aloud—sometimes rendering the schoolroom a very Babel of confused sounds."<sup>1</sup>

In 1760, Crowfield Academy was established on the headwaters of Rocky River, in the bounds of the Centre congregation, about two miles north of where Davidson College now stands. This was a classical school where many of the prominent men of Rowan and the near-by counties were educated. Among them were Colonel Adlai Osborne, the Rev. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle, Dr. James Hall, and Dr. Ephriam Brevard.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 267.

<sup>45</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 507, 622.

<sup>1</sup>Rumple, 83-84.

<sup>2</sup>Rumple, 84.

About the year 1767 Dr. David Caldwell founded his famous classical "Log College" on the headwaters of North Buffalo, near the present city of Greensboro.<sup>3</sup>

In 1773, Göttfried Arndt arrived, and for several years instructed the German youth around Salisbury.<sup>4</sup>

The inhabitants of Western North Carolina before the Revolution were dependent upon the *old field schools* and a few classical academies, such as Caldwell's and Crowfield, for their education. Those who were able often completed their schooling at Nassau Hall (now Princeton University) under Dr. John Witherspoon.<sup>5</sup>

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## CHAPTER IX

### THE SAFETY COMMITTEE

Rowan County has the distinction of being the first county in North Carolina to organize a safety committee.<sup>1</sup> This fact shows that the people were keenly alive to the cause of the colonies. The first committee met August 8, 1774. Its members were James McCay, Andrew Neal, George Cathey, Alexander Dobbins, Francis McCorkle, Matthew Locke, Maxwell Chambers, Henry Harmon, Abraham Denton, William Davidson, Samuel Young, John Brevard, William Kennon, George Henry Barringer, Robert Bell, John Bickerstaff, John Cowden, John Lewis Beard, John Nesbit, Charles McDowell, Robert Blackburn, Christopher Beekman, William Sharpe, John Johnston, and Morgan Bryan.<sup>2</sup> The records of the Rowan Committee of Safety have been preserved in Wheeler's "History of North Carolina" and in the *Colonial Records* and they give an insight into the opinions and purposes of the times. Though this committee began its administration before the Revolution its actions belong to the Revolutionary period, and will not be discussed in this sketch.

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<sup>3</sup>Caruthers, 30-31.

<sup>4</sup>Bernheim, 260-261.

<sup>5</sup>Rumple, 84-85.

<sup>1</sup>Col. Rec., IX, xxxii.

<sup>2</sup>Col. Rec., IX, 1024-1026; Rumple, 147.

## CHAPTER X

## SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

The inhabitants of Rowan and the other western counties lived among surroundings quite different from those who dwelt in the east. While the latter passed a life of ease and gayety on their large plantations with numerous African slaves, the former felled the forests and built homes on the fertile and pleasant lands lying along the countless streams which watered the country. The Indians who lived beyond the mountains were a constant source of alarm. The woods teemed with game. As is the case in all frontier communities, the sterner and stronger qualities of men predominated.

Slave labor was introduced into the territory embraced by Rowan County before it was taken from Anson. The list of taxables for Rowan for the year after its establishment indicate that there were then fifty-four black taxables in the county.<sup>1</sup> As after this date the white and black taxables were not listed separately, there is no means of determining the number of slaves owned by the inhabitants. No doubt many others were brought in, but slavery did not assume such large proportions in Rowan as it did in the eastern counties.

Practically all of the people derived their living from the soil. In the summer of 1755 Governor Dobbs visited the west in order to inspect his lands on Rocky River. Along the Yadkin he found fields of barley, wheat, rye, and oats.<sup>2</sup> Continuing his course to Rocky River, he visited between thirty and forty of the families situated on his lands. These people were prolific, there being from five to ten children in each family. The settlers raised horses, cows, hogs, and sheep, and planted Indian corn. They made butter and cheese and had "made good success with indigo."<sup>3</sup>

There were no stock-laws in those days. The cattle were branded by their owners and allowed to roam at large.<sup>4</sup> There is

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<sup>1</sup>Col. Rec., V, 575.

<sup>2</sup>Col. Rec., V, 355.

<sup>3</sup>Ashe, 289-290.

<sup>4</sup>Rumple, 39-41.

record that the Moravians cultivated cotton and tobacco in addition to grains and vegetables.<sup>5</sup>

Wild animals proved a great inconvenience to the frontier agriculturists. Accordingly bounties were offered to all persons who killed a wolf or a wild cat or a panther within ten miles of any settled plantation.<sup>6</sup> In 1767, an act was passed requiring every master or mistress of a plantation, or the overseer in case the owner did not reside in the county, to kill or cause to be killed every year seven crows or squirrels for each taxable under his or her control. Failure to do so was penalized by a fine of four pence for each crow or squirrel less than the required number, while those who killed more than were required were entitled to receive a bounty of four pence for each in excess of the requisite number.<sup>7</sup>

The rates charged by the tavern keepers of Salisbury may be of interest. In 1755, the inferior court fixed the following rates for keepers of ordinaries:

For dinner of roast or boiled flesh, 1 shilling.

For supper and breakfast, each, 6 pence.

For lodging one night, good bed, 2 pence.

For stablage (24 hours) with good hay or fodder, 6 pence.

For pasturage first 24 hours, 4 pence.

For every 24 hours thereafter, 2 pence.

For Indian corn and other grain per quart, 2 pence.<sup>8</sup>

The people of Rowan and the other sections of the west were much more closely connected with Charleston commercially than with the coast towns of North Carolina, for it was to the South Carolina port that they sent their produce. In 1762, provision was made by the Assembly for building Campbelton on the Cape Fear River. It was thought that this town would be the means of bringing the trade which enriched the merchants of Charleston to the coast of North Carolina.<sup>9</sup> As this step failed to accomplish the desired end, a committee was appointed to lay out a road from the frontiers to Wilmington.<sup>10</sup> The committee having failed to act, in 1771 a commission was selected to plot a road from Meck-

<sup>5</sup>Clewell, 24.

<sup>6</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 784-785, 862, 971.

<sup>7</sup>State Rec., XXV, 510-511.

<sup>8</sup>Rumple, 41.

<sup>9</sup>State Rec., XXV, 470.

<sup>10</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 753-754.

lenburg courthouse and from Salisbury the "nearest and best way" to Campbelton.<sup>11</sup> The plan was not carried out by the committee, and the west continued its commerce with the merchants of Charleston.

The people of the west had great difficulty in communicating with one another for want of roads.<sup>12</sup> Such roads as existed were far from being in a state of perfection.

Practically all of the manufactured commodities were made in the home. Tompkins, in his "History of Mecklenburg County," says: "The people made their own hats and shoes, and wove their own cloth. They were hatters and shoemakers and weavers and tailors. They raised indigo for dyeing. They raised flax and made it into linen."<sup>13</sup> Though this statement is made primarily of the people of Mecklenburg County, it applies with equal truth to those of Rowan.

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<sup>11</sup>State Rec., XXIII, 870-871.

<sup>12</sup>Col. Rec., VII, 354.

<sup>13</sup>Tompkins, 22-23.







THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

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CONTENTS

THE DIARY OF BARTLETT YANCEY  
MALONE

THE PROVINCIAL AGENTS OF  
NORTH CAROLINA

CHAPEL HILL  
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY  
1919



## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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The following is the diary of a North Carolina farmer, Bartlett Yancey Malone, who fought during the American War of Secession from July, 1861, to November, 1863, when he was captured and made prisoner. He entered the Confederate Army at the age of twenty-three as a private and rose to the rank of a sergeant, being a member during his active service of the 6th North Carolina Regiment. As he said, this regiment at the time of his capture in battle on the Rappahannock River belonged to "General Hooks (Hoke) brigard Early Division Ewels Corps Leas Army." As his story shows, Malone participated in most of the great battles and campaigns in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. After his capture, November 7, 1863, he was imprisoned at Point Lookout, Maryland, where he remained until February 24th, 1865.

An inquiry as to the justification for the publication of this document would be pertinent, for on a cursory reading it seems little more than an extended weather report. Mr. Malone performed no extraordinary feat of heroism, at least none such was recorded; he participated with individual distinction in no political movement of importance; he played no role which would cause historians to single him out for particular notice. His diary is reproduced here as a document of human interest which reveals, with much quaintness of expression, the thoughts of a simple soldier of the ranks—the thoughts, it is to be presumed, of a mass of men, which have oftentimes been inarticulate. There is a frankness about this diary that conveys inevitably, I believe, the conviction of sincerity. And there is a lack of emotion—as when in remarking on an event which, we are told, caused the soldiers great grief, the death of Stonewall Jackson, he merely said, "And General Jackson died to-day, which is the 10th day of May"—an absence of bitterness and of complaints which, considering the provocation of circumstances, make the diary of almost as much interest because of these omissions as because of what is included. Perhaps the most conspicuously absent feature

is that of any statement of the Southern cause for which he was fighting. Not only does the writer refrain from criticism of the North, but he omits to tell why he is fighting for the South. He assumes the Southern cause tacitly and of course. Mr. Malone was chiefly concerned with his job of being a soldier and, as there was no passion nor rancor in his story, there was likewise no exaltation nor fervid declamation. He asserted no particular knowledge of military events nor predicted the result of any engagement. "What the result is to be is more than I no." He did not seem to have been especially elated by victory, and he was certainly not demoralized by defeat—not even that of Gettysburg. He committed himself on rare occasions to expressions which manifested a confidence in the ultimate outcome, as after a successful battle he said: "We whipt them like we aulways do." He was unconsciously a brave man who took a sober sort of joy in fighting. On one occasion, when alluding to a battle of more than four hours in length, which began about three o'clock in the afternoon, he remarked: "we had a wright nice time of it from then on tell dark." There is no notice taken of the horrors of war, of bloody scenes which he must have witnessed on the battlefield; nor were there any complaints made of the pains of the wounds he received. His attitude toward the enemy was unemotional, almost indifferent. He sometimes referred to the federal soldiers as "the Scamps," which, in view of the heated controversies of the time, must certainly be regarded as a mild term of reproach. It is true that he designated General Benjamin F. Butler as the "Yankee beast," but that was an expression then so current in the South as to be conventional so far as Butler was concerned. Having done with these negative, though very significant, aspects, it might be said that, judging from the diary, Malone was chiefly thinking—possibly from a farmer's habit—of the weather with its attendant pleasures and discomforts and about food.

One persistent habit of Malone was to record the texts of sermons which he heard, together with references to their biblical sources. This practice, in addition to revealing some interesting evidence as to the nature of Civil War sermons, will remind some



readers of the time when it was considered a cardinal sin to be unable to quote and cite the preacher's text. Religion affected him in this way not only, but it influenced his poetry.

That part of the diary which describes Malone's experience as a prisoner at Point Lookout is, I think, an important and valuable addition to the limited, first-hand material dealing with Southerners in Northern prisons. It was when writing his reflections on prison life that the first note of despair comes into his journals. His criticism of the treatment of prisoners there may be summarized under four heads: First, there was not food enough. "Our rations at Point Lookout was 5 crackers and a cup of coffee for Breakfast. And for dinner a small ration of meat 2 crackers three potatoes and a cup of soup. Sugar we have non." Later he described the food supplied by saying, "Our Rations gets no better we get half a loaf of bread a day a small slice of Pork or Beef or Sault Beef for Breakfast for dinner a cup of Been Soup and Supper we get non." Coffee and sugar, which last commodity had for a time been supplied, had been taken away. At one time his friends caught, cooked and ate a rat. Secondly, he wrote of the poor protection against the cold afforded the prisoners. Many had to sleep on the ground with only one blanket. "All the wood we get at Point Lookout is one sholder tirn of pine brush every other day for a tent. 16 men to every tent." He recorded that five men froze to death on one night. Thirdly, he mentioned the frequent shooting of prisoners by the guards for trivial reasons. At one time he states that a prisoner was shot and killed by the guard "for no reason attall." Fourthly, he rather bitterly resented the placing of negroes as guards over him.

It will seem strange to some that the writer of this diary should have spelled General Lee's name, which undoubtedly was very familiar to him, as "Lea." This spelling of the famous name may be explained by the fact, of which I have been informed, that in Caswell County there were a number of people who spelled their name "Lea," as, indeed, did an officer of Malone's regiment. This and other orthographic curiosities must

be considered in the light of the fact that he was a graduate of the "corn field and tobacco patch" university.

No serious editing has been undertaken. Outside of an occasional attempt to indicate in some cases the accurate form of certain proper names and places, the diary has been allowed to stand without comment as written.

WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, Jr.

Chapel Hill, N. C., March 25, 1919.

## THE DIARY OF BARTLETT YANCEY MALONE

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Bartlett Y. Malone was bornd and raised in North Carolina Caswell County in the Year of our Lord 1838. And was Graduated in the corn field and tobacco patch: And inlisted in the war June the 18th 1861. And was a member of the Caswell Boys Company which was comanded by Captian Michel (A. A. Mitchell): And was attached to the 6th N. C. Regiment the 9th day of July '61 which was comanded by Colonel Fisher who got kild in the first Manassas Battel which was July 21, 1861. And then was comanded by Colonel W. D. Pender untell the Seven Pines fight which was fought the 30th day of May '61.\* And then Colonel W. D. Pender was promoted to Brigadier General. And then Captain I. E. Avry (Avery) of Co. E was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel who was in comand untell about the 10th of October when he was promoted to Colonel and still staid in comand untell the 2th day of July 1863 which was the day the fite was at Gettysburg whar he was kild. And then Lieut: Colonel Webb taken comand.

Look hear Mr. Johnston did you ever go to Scolidge

I dont no: I guess you mean coledg dont you, Bans:

Yes, that what I said Scoledg:

Oh go way from hear negro you dont no what you ar a talken about

Yes I do dat just what I said.

---

His purposes will ripen fast

Unfolding evry hour

The bud may have a bitter taste

But sweet will be the flower

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\* For a history of the Sixth Regiment, see Clark (editor), *North Carolina Regiments, 1861-1865*, Vol. I (1901).

May your days be days of pleasure  
May your nites be nites of rest  
May you obtain lifes sweetest pleasure  
And then be numbered with the blest.

---

Whar ere you rome  
What ere your lot  
Its all I ask  
Forget me not.

Remember me when I am gon  
Dear friend remember me  
And when you bow befour the throne  
O then remember me.

---

You are a charming little dandy  
Sweeter than the sweetest candy.

---

Candy is sweet  
It is very clear  
But not half so sweet  
As you my dear

---

One day amidst the plas  
Where Jesus is within  
Is better than ten thousen days  
Of pleasure and of Sin

O for grace our hearts to soften  
Teach us Lord at length to love  
We alas forget too often  
What a friend we have above.

All I like of being a Whale  
Is a water Spout and a tail.

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A certen cewer for the Toothack if the tooth is hollow take a  
pease of the scale that is on a horses leg and put it in the hollow  
of the tooth It is a serten cewer so sais J. H. Lyon.

B. Y. M.

B. Y. MALONE'S MEMORANDUM  
FOR THE YEAR 1862

---

The first day of January was a beautyfull day  
And William Hester died the last day of Dec. 1861

The 2 day was a beautyfull one and nothing happend of eney interest that day.

The 3 day was also a pritty day.

The 4 day we had a right smart snow and Mr. Compton is at our camp to day on a visit.

The 5th which is the Sabath and ther is a right smart ice on the ground to day And Bethel is a cooking I. H. Jonstons big turkey for dinner.

The 6th day was a very coal one indeed and the snow is about a half of a inch deep on the ground to day and Mr. I. T. Compton left our camp to day for home.

The 7th day I was on gard and it was a very coal day.

The 8th day was also coal and me and Bethel washed our close to day.

The 9th day was a beautyfull And Mr. Thomas Martin arived at our camp today on a visit.

The 10 day was cloudy but not much rain And I wrote a letter to S. F. Compton today.

The 11 day was a very pritty day over head but powerfull muddy under foot. And nothing happend to day worth a naming.

The 12 day which is the Sabath and it is a beautifull sunshiney day And me and Young eat our big oposam today for dinner and indeed it was sum good.

The 13 was a very nice day indeed.

The 14 day the snow was about shoe mouth deep And Mr. Clover and Young and Joshua and my self went a rabbit hunting and caught one squirl And indeed we saw a heap of fun that day.

The 15 day was a very bad day it rained all day and freezed



as it fell and at night there was about as much ice on the treese as I ever saw in my life.

The 16 day was a wright warm day and the snow nearley all melted off of the ground by night

The 17 day was very cool and cloudy

The 18 day was sloppy day And I hird today that peas was made between the North and South and I hird that our men sunk a vessel down on the Potomac last night But indeed I dont beleave a word of it.

The 19 day was a raney one and our Company was on picket gard at Greenwood Church which is in about 9 miles from Pocoman And Mr. I. F. Richmond arived at our camp to day on a visit.

The 20 day and it is still araning and nothing happend to-day of any interest

The 21 is cloudy and a raning And I am on gard today at the camp

The 22 was cloudy but no rain

The 23 was cloudy and cool but no rain And thir was hevvy canonading down on the Potomac to day

The 24 was cool and cloudy in the morning and in the eavning it was a snowing And Mr. Oliver and Young went to Dumpfreese to day for witnesses for Mr. B. Murphey.

The 25 was a very cool day and Young went back to Dumfrieze to day again for witnes for B. Murphey.

The 26 which was the Sabath was a beautyfull day indeed

The 27 was a warm sunshiney day and we all went out on drill to day for the first time in too months And the Colonel prayseed ous all and said that he was glad that we had not forgotten how to drill

The 28th day was cloudy in the morning and clear in the eavning And I hope the Lieutenants get sum logs today to put a flower (floor) in his hous

The 29 was a very pritty warm day, but after night it comenced raning And I was on gard to day And my post was right befour the Colonels house door.

The 30 day was a raney day and nothing happend to day

onley me and Marshal Walker was a playing and I hurt my face with a fence rail

The 31 day was cloudy but not much rain And nothing happend today worth a menshionen.

B. Y. MALONE.

### The Month of February 1862

The first day of February was a raney day indeed And nothing happened to day of eney interest

The 2 day which was the Sabath was a very warm day

The 3 day was a very bad day it snowed all day long and at night the snow was about six inches deep

The 4 day was a very nice day over head and the snow melted very fast all day, and we boys saw a heap of fun that day a snow bawling

The 5 day was a very warm sunshiney day and the snow was nearly all melted off of the ground by night And nothing happend to day worth a namen

The 6 day was a very raney one And Lieutenant Lea and Sergeant Couvington and H. Rudd and Mr. Balden all started home to day as recruiting officers.

The 7 day was cold and cloudy And I was on gard to day

The 8 day was very cool And Lieutenant Lea was promoted to Captian And Sergeant Olover promoted to Second Lieutenant to day And Nat Hester promoted to fourth Corporal

The 9 day which was the Sabath was a very pritty day And Thomas Grinsted dide to day he was a private in Captian Leas Company

The 10 day was clear but cool And we went out on drill today for the first time in severl weeks.

The 11 day was a very cool day And me and Cousin Anderson went down to the fourth Alabama Reg in a visit.

The 12 day was a very pritty day indeed and I went to Dumfrieze today and then returned home

The 13th day was a pritty warm sunshiney day And we went on drill twist that day.

The 14th day a wright coal day.

The 15 day was a very bad day indeed it snowed all day long and at night the snow was about 3 inches deep on the ground

The 16 day was a clear day and the snow melted a little And Mr. Luther Rudd dide to day about 8 oclock in the morning

The 17 day was a very bad day it rained all day and friezed as it fell.

The 18 day was cloudy but warm and the ice melted off and I was on gard that day

The 19 day was a very raney day indeed And Mr. I. R. Hester And Calvin Snipes arived at our camp today on a visit

The 20 day was a beautifull day it looked like the spring of the year and Mr. I. R. Moore left our camps today to go home on a furlough

The 21 day was cool and cloudy And ther was a wright smart excitement in camp today It was repoted that the Yankees was a landing at Colchester

The 22 day was cloudy and it rained a little in the morning And Mr. I. R. Hester and N. Snips left our camp today for home

The 23 day was cloudy but not much rain

The 24 day was clear and very windey indeed

The 25 day was clear and cool And A. I. Brincefield started home today on a sick furlough

The 26 day was cloudy but not much rain

The 27 day was clear and Brother Albert arrived at our camps today on a visit

The 28 day was clear but very windey and cool And ther was a wright smart stir in camps today for we had orders to pack our knapsacks and to be ready to march at a moments warning but wher we was to go too we did not no. Spring is now come.

B. Y. MALONE.

#### The Month of March 1862

The 1 day of March was clear and very cool And I was on gard in the day but being unwell I got excused from standing after night

The 2 day it snowed till the snow was about 2 inches on the ground.

The 3 day was cloudy and rained nearly all day

The 4 day was clear and cool and our company was on picket guard today at Greenwood Church

The 5 day was cloudy but no rain And Brother Albert left our camps today for home

The 6 day clear in the morning and cloudy in the evening And snowed a little And we had orders today from General Whiten (W. H. Whiting) to drill twice every day hereafter

The 7 day was clear but very cool and we have orders to cook two days rations and be ready to march in the morning but where we are going is more than I know

The 8 day of March was cloudy and cool And our Regiment left camp Fisher today for Camp Barton

The 9 day was clear and warm And we marched about 15 miles today on toward Camp Barton

The 10 day was cloudy and raining in the morning but no rain in the evening And we arrived at camp Barton about 3 o'clock in the evening which is about 2 miles west of Fredericksburg (Fredericksburg)

The 11 day was a beautiful warm sunny day and we cleaned our streets and struck our tents today

The 12 day was a beautiful spring day and nothing occurred of any interest

The 13 day was warm and clear

The 14 day was warm and cloudy but no rain And I was on guard at Camp Barton for the first time.

The 15 day was a very rainy day indeed

The 16 day which was the Sabbath was cloudy but no rain And our recruits got in today and the number of them was 45

The 17 day was cool and cloudy but no rain and I heard today that we had to march back to Richmond

The 18 day was clear and warm And Lieutenant Colonel Lightfoot of the 6th N. C. S. T. was promoted to Colonel of the 5th Alabama Regt today

The 19 day was cloudy and cool

The 20 day was raney and very cool indeed

The 21 day cloudy and cool but no rain

The 22 day cloudy and sum rain And I was on gard and the counter sign was York Town

The 23 day which was the Sabath was a beautyfull spring day and I went to Frederksburg to preaching And the preach-ers text was in St. John 3 chap and 18 virse

The 23 day cool and cloudy

The 24 cool and cloudy

The 25 was a beautyfull day

The 26 was also a nice day

The 27 warm and clear

The 28 was a beautyfull spring day and we have orders this eavning to cook 3 days rashers And I hird severl cannons fyer-ing this eavning but what is to be the result is more than I no

The 29 day it rained and haild and snowed and sleated and friezed and done a little of all that was bad And me and James Colmond went to Fredreksburg and went down to the landing and went in a steam boat for the first one we ever was in

The 30 day which was the Sabath was cool and raney

The 31 day was a beautyfull day and I was on gard and my post was befour the gard house door so nothing more.

B. Y. MALONE

### The Month of April 1862

The 6 day of April which was the Sabath was a beautyfull spring day And I went to Fredericksburg to meating and the Preachers text was in the first Book of Kings 18 chapter and 21 virse

The 7 day was a pritty one

The 8 day was cool and raney And our Regiment left Camp Barton in the morning and marched on toward Richmond threw the wind and water and waded the creaks as they went

The 9 was still cool and raney and we continued our march And about 3 o'clock in the eavning as we was marching threw a little Town cauld Balden Green it comenced halen and raining on ous very hard And then it was about 3 miles to the Depot

wher we was to take the cars And we all got very wet befour we got ther And then about sundown we got in sum old horse cars and was run to Ashland which was about 22 miles And when we got ther I was wet and nearly frozen And I was on gard and they put me on post wright away and I had to stand 2 hours And it was a snowing a little while I was a standing

The 10 day was cool and cloudy in the morning but cleerd off about twelve and we stade in Town all day

The 11 day was a pritty clear day and we stade in Town untell eavning And in the eavning we went out in the woods about a mile from Town and struck our tents for the night

The 12 day was a very pritty one

The 13 day was also a nice one And William Jeffrus of our Company dide this morning And we had a Preacher to preach in our camp today and his text was in the Second Book of Kings 6 chapter and 15 and 16 and 17 vurses.

The 14 of April was a very pritty day And our Regiment left Ashland for Yolktown (Yorktown) And our rought was down by Hanover Coathouse

The Second day we still continued our march And also the 3 and fourth we marched And the 5 day we marched and past threw the town of Williamsburg about 9 o'clock in the morning And about an hour before the sun set we arrived at General Johnston Headquarters which is in about a mile of Yolktown wher we stopt to wait for the Battle.

The 29 day of April was a beautiful day And Calvin Snips got back today from home And the Reverant Mr. Stewart from Alexander preached in our camp this eavning and his text was this: I am the Lord of Host:

### The Month of May

The 2 day of May was a beautiful one And we had orders to leave Yorktown And soon in the morning the wagons was loded and everything sent off but our knapsacks and about 12 o'clock the Artillery was all plast (placed) in a line of battle acrost the field and about dark we was all marched out behind it and Colonel Pender told ous that they expected a large fight



the next day and we lade ther in the field all night with our guns by our side And next morning we marched out in the woods And we stade ther untell about 2 o'clock in the night And then we was roused up and marched about a half a mile and then for sune cause we was stopt and sent back And then about day-break we started again and taken the same road back that we come down And about 12 oclock we got to Williamsburg and we onley went about 4 miles futher tell we stopt to stay all night And about 4 oclock in the eavning the Yankees Calvery overtaken ours clost to Williamsburg and we had a little brush but our men whipt thirs and we onley lost one kild and 3 or 4 wounded And we kild 9 of thirs and wounded severl and taken 10 horses And the 5 day was a very raney one indeed and we was roused up about 2 oclock in the night and marched all day threw the mud and water and at night we arived in about 2 miles of West Point

The 6 day we stade in camp untell about one oclock And it was reported that the Yankees was alanding down at West Point and we was all run out in a file and plast in a line of battel expecting a fight but did not and about dark we marched back to our camp and about 8 oclock in the night we marched about a mile to another plase for sum cause and then stade thar all night And the next morning which was the 8 was a beautyful one and the Yankees was alanding at West Point and about 8 o'clock we was marched down to the intended battle field And from that time untell 12 oclock we was a scurmishing and a running from one place to another hunting the scamps And in the eavning we marched back in the woods and stade thar untell about 12 oclock in the night And then marched about a mile futher back And stad thar all night And then as soon as day broke we started on our march again And about 3 oclock in the eavning we got to West Point coathouse whar we found General Johnston and all of his men And then we marched about 2 miles futher and stop for the night

And the 9 day we rested untell about 12 oclock and then started out on our march again and befour we had gone a mile we hird that our Cavalry was attacked by the Yankees And

then we had to stop and wate a while but we whipt them like we aulways do And then we marched on but dident git but 3 miles that day And the 10 day we dident march but about a mile for we was expecting the Scamps to attack us but they did not

The 11 day which was the second Sunday in May was a beautyfull day indeed And we rested all day And the Reverant Mr. Stewart from Alexander preached to us again today

The 12 day we still stade in camp and Mr. Fossett preached for us today. And his text was in the first of Timothy 2 chapter and 8 virse

The 13 day was clear and warm

The 14 cloudy and a raining

The 15 raney And we left Camp. Road today about 12 oclock and marched on toward Richmond

And the 16 we marched

And the 17 we got to our camp clost to Richmond

The 26 day of May was a nice one but about 12 oclock in the night it comenced raining very hard And about 1 oclock we was roused up and did expect to attack the Yankees about day but it rained so hard we did not go

And the 27 day it rained till about 10 oclock and then cleard off And about 3 oclock in the eavning the fight comenced down about Hanover Coathouse we surposed but we was not cauld out And I was promoted today to fourth Corporel

The 28 day was clear and about a hour befour the sun set we left our camp And march all night down toward Hanover Coathouse And we past in about three hundred yards of the Yankeys pickets And then we stopt and rested about 3 hours And about 8 oclock the next day we started back and went about 5 or 6 miles and stopt for the night

And the next day we went back in about a mile and a half of Richmond and staid thar all night

And the next morning which was the 30 we left and marched down toward Chickahominy And about three oclock in the eavning we was led in to the Battel field by Colonel Pender And we had a wright nice time of it from then tell dark

And the next morning which was the first day of June the

fight comenced a little before the sun rose And we was plast (placed) in a line of Battel And was expecting to go in to it evry minuet but we staid there all day and was not cauld on; General Longstreet divishion don the most of the fighting on Sunday And from that time till the 11th we stade in the Swamp down on Chickahominy River

And the 11 day we left Chickahominy And went to Richmond and taken the cars and went to the Junction that night

And the next morning we left thar And about a hour befour the sun set we arived at Linchburg

And the 12 day we stade at Linchburg

And the 13 day we got on the cars about dark and the next morning we found our relief at Sharlottsvill (Charlottesville) which was about 75 miles from Linchburg And we chainged cars at that plase And the 14 day we traveld threw the Moun-tins And about too hours befour the sun set we got to the little town cauld Staunton And we stade ther tell the 18 And the 18 which was just twelve months from the time I taken the oath we left Staunton And marched about 15 miles wright back the railroad the way we came down And stade all night at a little town cauld Wainsborough (Waynesboro) clost to the Turnel

And the next morning we croust over the Blew ridg and marched to Mitchiners River And staid thar all night And the next morning which was the 20 we taken the cars at Mitchiners River and road up to Sharlottsvill And then taken a railroad thar that went to Gordnesvill And we got to Gordnesvill about 2 oclock in the eavning and we taken the Richmond Railroad thar And road about 25 miles toward Richmond at a station cauld Frederickshall And thar we got off

The 21 we stade at Frederickshall

And also the 22 we stade thar

And the 23 we started out again on our march and marched all day long threw the hot sun and dust for it was very hot and dusty the 23 but it rained that night.

And the next day (which was the 24) we still continued our rout and when we stopt for night we was in 6 miles of Ashland

And the 25 we travield all day long and at night we campt a mile west of Ashland

And the 26 we travield sloley down the Chickahominy River driving in the pickets as we went

And the 27 we still went on and about 3 oclock in the eavning we come up with the main body of the Yankees (at Cold Harbor) and attacked them And from that time untell dark we had a wright warm time of it But we whipt them And in our company A. Burk was kild and A. Tucker and Page was slitley wounded

And the 28 we marched about a mile the other side of the battle field and stade thar all day,

And the 29 we stade at the same place And about 2 oclock in the eavning we had orders to fall in to march but we did not go And as we was stacking our armes again one of Captain Tates men shot another one threw the thigh but it was don axidentley

And the 30 we was roused up about too oclock in the night and about day break we started out again And crost the Chickahominy River and marched untell we came to the York river Railroad 8 miles below Richmond And then we taken down the Railroad and about 2 hours befour sunset we come to a little creak whar the Yankees had burnt the bridge And left sum of thir peases thar to bumb us so we couldent build the bridge untell they could get thir army futher along, And we never got the bridge built untell next morning about a half of a hour by sun

The Month of July 1862 (Also August to December)

And the next morning whitch was the first day of July just twelve months from the time I left home we crost over and about 10 oclock we overtaken the scamps again And they comenced throwing bumbs amung us And we amung them And thar was a very heavey canonading cept up all day And a little befour night the pickets comenced fying And from that time untell about a hour in the night thar was very hard fiting don indeed And a great meney kild and wounded on

boath sids in our company M. Miles L. Smith, B. Murphey, I. Calmond, G. Lyons And my self was all hurt

And the next day which was the second was a very rany day indeed And our Regiment moved back in the woods a peas and stade thar all day

And the next day we marched back about three miles toward Richmond and stopt for the night

And the 4 day we marched down on James River about 25 miles from Richmond

And the 5 we stade at the same plase untell sun down And then our Regiment had to go on picket And we marched down in about a mile of the Yankees and sent out our detail

And also the 6 day we was on picket at the same plase

And the 7 day we was releaved about twelve oclock And then we marched back about a mile in the woods

And the 8 we stade thar untell about 4 oclock in the eavning And then we started out for Richmond And we marched untell about 10 oclock in the night and we got as far as White Oak Swamp which was about 10 miles from the plase whar we started

And the 9 day we started again about 4 oclock and we got in about 3 miles of Richmond And then we moved up in about a mile and a half of Richmond and taken up camp and the 11 we got sum flages and put them up And Mr. I. H. Compton arrived at our camp today on a viset

And the 12 day we still stade in camp And also the 13 we stade in camp and Mr. I. H. Compton left our camps today for home for him. And we still staid at Richmond untell the 7 of August And then we left thar And marched about four miles toward Ashland And when we stopt it was dark And then our company had to go about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles futher to stand picket and it was 12 oclock in the knight when we got to the plase whar we we was to stand:

And the next morning we was releived and we had to go back to our Regiment again:

And the 9 day we started out again about four oclock in the eavning and marched untell about one oclock in the knight



And when we stopt we was about thre miles beyond Ashland which was about 15 miles from the plase whar we started from

And the 10 day we started again about 4 oclock and we went as far as Hanover Junction which was about 6 miles

And the 11 day we started in the morning and marched about 5 miles down clost to a little river and stopt again to take up camp

And the 14 day our Regt left thar and marched up toward Gordensvill And I was not able to go with them so they excused me and started me back to the Hospital clost to Richmond And we had to walk to Hanover Junction which was about 4 miles And we had to stay thar all next day for we could not get eny cars to tak us eney futher

And the 16 day we got on the cars about 8 oclock and got to the Hospital about 11 And then I staid at the Hospital untell the 2 day of September And then I taken the cars at Richmond and got as far as Gordensvill the first day

And the 3 day we rode on the cars as far as Rapadan River and Bridg was burnt thar and then we had to walk from thar to our Regiment And it was 115 miles to Winchester And 35 from thar to the Reg. but we left Rapadan the 4 day and walked up the railroad to Culpeper Coathouse which was 12 miles from Rapadan River

And the 5 day we taken the turnpike road and marched as far as Warrenton Springs which was 18 miles from Culpeper

And the 6 day we got to Warrenton about 12 oclock which was 7 miles from Warrenton Springs And by nite we got to a littel Town by the name of Baultimore And it was 5 miles from Warrenton

And the 7 day we got to a littel town by the name of Haymarket about 12 oclock And we didnt get but about 4 miles futher that day for we had to stop to get sompthing to eat

And the 8 day we got as far as Aldie and it was about 15 miles from Haymarket

And the 9 day we got to Leasburg and it was about 12 miles from Aldie

And the 10 day we past threw a littel town by the name of



Hamelton and it was about 5 miles west of Leasburg And the 11 day we got to Snigerville about nite and it was 10 miles from Hamilton.

And the 12 day we crost over the Blew ridge in the morning and about 10 oclock we crost Shandal River and it was about 4 miles from Snigersville And by nite we got to Berrysville and it was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Shanandoah

And the 13 day we got to Windchester and it was about 10 miles from Berryville

And then we stade at Windchester untell the 16 and then we started to Harpersferry and we got as far as Berryville the first day and then taken the left hand road and got as far as Charles-town the 17 day

And the 18 day we crost the Potomac at Shepards town about nite and it was about 10 miles from Berryville

And the 19 day we crost back again and got as far as Charles-town by night and the 20 day we got to Berryville again

And the 21 we travaild untell we got in 4 miles of Windchester and then taken the wright hand road to go to Martinsburg and we past by the Burnt Factory and got as far as Jordons Sulphur Springs by night.

And the 22 day we got to a littel town by the name of Bucktown and the 23 day we got to our Reg. and it was clost to Martinsburg and Martinsburg was about 22 miles from Windchester

And then the 27 the Regiment left thar and marched in five miles of Windchester

The 22 of October was cool and very windy indeed and the 23 was clear and cool and we had a General review

And the 24 we left our old camp and marched about a mile near to Windchester to pease of woods and taken camps in them again

And the 28 we left thar for Culpeper and got as far as Shanadoah River the first day

And the 30 day the fields was white with froust and about sun up we waded the River at Front Royal and by night we got as far as a littel town by the name of Flint Hill

And the 31 day we marched all day and got in five miles of Culpeper by nite

And the first day of November we got to Culpeper

And the second day which was the sabath I went to meating at Culpeper And the preachers text was in St: John 16 chapter 7.8.9.10 and 11 vurses

And the 3 day we marched over to the old battel field at Sedar Run which was about 3 miles from Culpeper and stopt again for camp

And the 7 day it snowed

And the 8 day the Second and 11 Myssissippians left our Bregaid and the 54 and 57 N. C. taken thir plases

And the 9 day was a very cool day

And the 10 day was a pritty one indeed and thar was a very hevvy canonading cept up all day between Culpeper and Windchester and we had orders to cook rashions and expected to be cauld on evry minnet but was not

And the 18 day we left Culpeper for Fredericks and the first day we was as far as Rapidan River by nite and we marched all day threw the rain and mud the 20 and also the 21 and the 22 we got to Fredericks about 12 o'clock

And the 5 day of December it rained all day and about night it comenced snowing and snowed untell it was about a inch and a half deep on the ground And the 6 day and 7 was very cool indeed

And the 11 day the too signerl guns was fyerd just befour day and we was run out in a line of battel and kept so all day and the Yankees crost over the River that day

And the 12 day we was marched around to the left of our army and was expecting to have to fight every minnet but did not for thar was no fiting don except the pickets and canonading

And the 13 we was marched back to the wright and laid in a line of battel all day under the Yankees shells but non of ous got hurt

And that nite we was sent to the front on picket and laid clost to the enemy all nite and went marching about day we comenced fying at them and cept it up all day and there was about 15 kild and wounded in our Regt: but non kild in our

Company, B. Richmond and P. S. Donahan was slightly wounded and that nite we marched back in the woods And we staid thar all day the next day and at nite we had to bild ous sum brest works

And the next morning which was the 16 General Hood came riding up and said well Boys you all did such great works hear last nite that you scard the Yankees on the other side of the river but we staid thar all day

And the next morning which was the 17 we marched back to our old camps

And the 24 day was cool and cloudy and it was wash day with me.

And the 25 which was Christmas morning was foggy but soon cleard off and was a pritty day but I didnt have nothing to drink nor no young ladies to talk too so I seen but little fun

And the 26 was a warm cloudy day and me and M. Walker went to the depot

And the 27 we and Lewis Smith went back to the Depot and after nite I went to the show to see the Monkey.

And the 28 day was clear and warm and Preacher Miller of Company C. preached for ous in the evening and his text was in 126 Psalms and third virse the Text was this The Lord hath done great things for us: Whereof we are glad:

And the 29 day was a prity warm sunshiney day And I was on divishion gard at General Hoods headquarters

And the 30 day was warm and cloudy but no rain

And the 31 day which was the last day of 1862 was cool and cloudy and our Regiment had muster inspection in the day and at nite our Company had to go on picket gard down the bank of the Rapahanok River whar we was in about a hundred yards of the Yankees pickets they was on one side of the river and we was on the other we was in talken distence but our officer would not alow ous to talk they would cum down on the bank and hollow to ous and say if we would bring the boat over that they would come over on our side and have a talk. So that was the last of our works for the year 1862.

BARTLETT Y. MALONE

Co. H. 6th N. C. Regiment

## THIS IS FOR THE YEAR 1863

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### The Month of January

The first day of January was a pritty day and our Company was on picket down on the Rapahanock River about a mile and a half below Fredericksburg Va.

And the 2 day was also a nice one

And also the 3 was a pritty day

And the 4 day was a pritty warm day and we all was on Bregaid inspection the 4th.

And the 5 day was warm and looked like the spring of the year and we was all on Bregaid Drill the 5 day down on the old Battel field.

And the 6 day was cloudy and rained a littel

And the 7 day was clear and cool and we all was in General Review

And the 8 day was cloudy and cool

And the 9 day was clear and cool and we all was on Divishion rewev again General Hood was our reviewing Officer

And the 10 day was cloudy and rained all day long

And the 11 was cloudy and cool

And the 12 day was a pritty day

And also the 13

And the 14 was warm and cloudy and we built a chimly to our tent today

And the 15 day was warm but very winday and R. H. Wells started home this morning on a furlogh

And the 16 day was a very pritty warm day and we had orders to cook too days rations we was expecting the Yankees to cross the River again but they did not

And the 17 day was clear but very col indedd:

And the 18 was cool

And the 19 was warm and I was on gard

And the 20 was cloudy and cool

And the 21 was a very cool and raney day,

And also the 22 day was raney and very cool.

And the 23 day was cloudy in the morning and cleared off warm about an hour befour the sun set

And the 24 day was warm and cloudy and the old Bludy 6th and 54 and 56 N. C. Regt was transferrd from the old 3 bregaid which was comanded by General Law (E. M. Law) to the 7 Bregaid which was comanded by General Holk (R. F. Hoke).

And the 25 day was cloudy and rained a littel in the morning about 12 o'clock and we got to General Holk (Hoke) Bregaid about 11 o'clock which was 15 miles from General Lows (Law's) Bregaid whar we started from:

And the 26 day was warm and cloudy

And the 27 was a very raney day indeed

And when I got up the morning of the 28 it was a snowing and it snowed all day long

And the 29 day was clear and cool and the snow was about 10 inches deep on the ground

And the 30th was clear and cool

And the 31 was pritty and Mr. Mitchel Johnston and Mr. John Evans arrived at our camp today on a visit.

### The Month of February 1863

The first day of February which was the Sabath was a pritty spring day

And the 2 day was cloudy and rained in the morning but clear and very windy in the eavning

And the 4 day was cloudy cool and windy

And the 5 day it Snowed in the morning and rained in the eavning

And the 6 day was raney

And the 7 clear and warm

And the 8 day which was the Sabath was a beautyfull spring like day

And the 9 was also prity and

And the 10th day was snowing and also the 11 was

And the 12th was a pretty warm day.

The the 13 was clear and cool.

And the 14th was cool and clear.

And the 15 was warm

And the 16 was warm and clear

And the 17 was a snowey day and we all had to go on picket down at Port Royal.

And the 18th it rained all day long and the snow nearly all melted of by nite and we still staid on picket

And the 19th was cloudy but no rain and we returned to our Regiment

And the 20 was warm and clear

The 21 was warm and clear

The 22 was a very bad day it snowed and the wind blew all day and at nite the snow was about a foot deep.

And the 23 day was warm and clear but the snow didnt melt no great deal

And the 24 was warm and General Stokes Bregaid and General Lautons (Lawton?) had a snow ballen

And the 25 was a warm sunshiney day

And the 26 was a raney day and nearley all of the snow was gone by nite.

And the 27 was warm and cloudy and our Brass Ban got back from Richmond.

And the 28 which was the last day of February was coal and cloudy. And Mr. Portland Baley of Company D. 6th Regiment N. C. Troops was shot to death to day at 2 oclock with musketry.

Now the dark days of winter is gon And the bright days of Spring is come.

B. Y. MALONE.

### The Month of March.

The first day of March was coal and raney in the morning and in the eavning it was clear and very windy And the 2 day was a beautyfull Spring day.

And the 3 day was a beautyfull one and our Regiment left the old camp clost to Port Royal and marched back clost to Fredericksburg and taken camp again clos to the one we left

The 16 day of March was cloudy and coal And Mr. Stons



in Co. F. 57 N. C. Regiment was shot to death to day with musketry.

The 17th of March the Yanks crossed the Raphanock River at Keleys foard and our calvry whipt them back.

And the 20 was cloudy in the morning and snowed a littel in the eavning and Mr. I. H. Compton arived at our camp today on a visit And the 21 it Snowed untell it was about 3 inches deep on the ground

And the 22 the snow all melted off And Mr. Compton and Johnston left camp today for home.

The last day of March the Snow was about 3 inches deep on the ground.

#### The Month of April (May and June)

The 4 day April was cloudy and coal in the day and after nite it comenced Snowing And the morning of the 5 the Snow was about 3 inches deep on the ground and five companys of our Regt had to go on picket down on the Raphanock River

And the 6 day was clear and warm and the snow nearly all melted of by nite and we still staid on picket and the 7 day we retired to our camps.

The 18 day which was the Sabath was a beautyfull Spring day and General Jacksons preacher preached in our camps and his text was in Hebrews 3 chapter and part of the 7 and 8 virses the words was this: To day if ye will hear his voice harden not your harts.

The 23 day was raney and we had orders about nite to cook too days rations thar was sum few Yankees crossed over the river at Port Royal and taken a wagon or too from our men but they soon went back and our Regt didnt have to leave the camp

The 26 day of April which was the Sabath was a beautyfull day And I went to meating at General Jackson Headquarters And the Preacher taken part of the 16th chapter of Luke comencen at the 18 virse for the foundation of what remarks he made And in the eavning we had preachen in our Regiment from a preacher in the 18th Virginia Regiment. And his text

was in Proverbs 18th chapter and the later clause of the 24th verse which reads thus: Ther is a friend that sticketh closter than a brother :

The morning of the 28 befour I got up I herd a horse come threw the camp in a full lope and it was not meny minutes untell the man come back and sais Boys you had better get up we will have a fight hear to reckly and I comenced geting up and befour I got my close on they comenced beating the long roal and it was not but a minnet or too untill I herd the Adger-tent hollow fall in with armes the Reg: then was formed and marched to the Battel field the Yankies comenced crossing the river befour day and by day they had right smart force over the pickets fought sum on the 29 and a good deel of canonading was don and it rained sum in the eavning

The morning of the 30th it was a raning and evry thing was very still untill about twelve oclock it ceased raning about ten o'clock they comenced cannonading and cept it up untill dark

The first morning of May 63 our Regiment had to go in front on picket it was very foggy in the morning but soon got clear as soon as the fog was off we found the Yankees had a very strong line of Scirmishers in about 5 hundred yards of ours we cood see a great meny Yankees on the other side of the river but we couldnt tell how meny was on this side we could hear very hevy canonading up the river in the eavning It is repoted that our men and the Yankees was a fyting at Keleys Foad :

The 2 day of May was a very pritty day and our Regiment was relieved from picket about day and fell back to our brest works again our men fyerd on the Yankies from too Batterys about 10 o'clock and the Yankies returned the fyer from one Battery it was kept up about a hour but no damedge don as I have herd of we can still hear them a fyting at Keley's Foad

And about 5 o'clock in the eavning we could see the Yankees a marchen up on the other side of the river by regiments and most all went back from on this Side of the river and General Earley thought that they was all a going back and taken all of his men but a Louisiana Bregaid and started to reinforce General Lea And about the time we had gone 6 miles they come

orders that the Yankees was atvancen again whar we had left And then we had to turn back and march all the way back about 10 o'clock in the nite. And the next morning which was the 3 day our men comenced Buming (bombing) the Yankees and they returned the fyer and ther was right smart canonading and picketing don untell about 12 o'clock and then for sum cause we was all ordered to fall back about a half of a mile to our last breast works but as soon as dark come we marched about 2 miles up the River.

And the next day which was the 4 we was marching about first from one plais to a nother a watching the Yankees untell about a hour by sun and the fight was opend our Bregaid went in and charged about a half of a mile and just befour we got to the Yankee Battery I was slitley wounded above the eye with a peas of a Bumb non was kild in our company. Lieutenant Walker was slitley wounded in the side. I. R. Allred was wounded in the arm hat to have it cut off. I. E. Calmond was slitley wounded in the arm. I. L. Evins had his finger shot off—the fift day we found the Yankees had all gon back on the other side of the River and we marched back down to the old camp ground and taken up camp again

The 10 day of May which was the second Sunday was a very pretty day and I went to headquarters to preaching and the preachers text was in Romans the 8th chap and 28 virse the words was this: And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God. And General Jackson died to day which is the 10th day of May

The 17 and 18 days was pritty and warm and our Regiment was on picket down on the Raphanoc and the 18th we got back to the camp:

And again the 25th we had to go on picket And the 27 we got back about 12 oclock and in a few minuets after we got back we had to go on a General Review General R. E. Lea reviewed General Earleys Divishion.

The last day of May we had marchen orders and after nite Mr. Tassett preached in our Regt his text was in St. Johns 3 chapt & 16th virse.

The 4th day of June about 11 O'clock in the nite we left our old camp clost to Fredericksburg and marched twar Culpeper and bout 6 O'clock the 5th day we got to Spotsylvancy Coathouse and about 2 o'clock in the eavning we stopt for to camp for the nite after marchen about 20 miles that day And the 6th day we stade in camp untell about 2 O'clock in the eavning for General Hils core was a fiting at Fredericksburg the Yankees crossed ther after they found out that we had left we marched about 8 miles the 6th day and it rained on ous very hard befour we taken up camp.

And the 7th day we started on our march about sun up and about 12 o'clock we waded Rapadan River at Rackoon Foad and about 4 O'clock in the eavning we stopt to camp again in about 5 miles of Culpeper Coathouse.

The 8th day we marched up to Culpeper and stopt to cook Rations The 8 day we staid at Culpeper untell about 3 O'clock in the eavning and then we was ordered down to Brandy Station about 4 miles from Culpeper whar the Calvry hat bin fiting all day and we staid all nite and the next morning we found that the Yankees had all gon back on the other Side of the River and we marched back to Culpeper again and cooked another days rations and about 3 O'clock in the eavning we started again in the direction of Winchester and we got as far as Hasel Run (Hazel Run or Deep Run) by nite And the next morning which was the 11th we started about sun up and about 9 O'clock we got to a littel town cauld Woodwin and whilst we was a passen threw the 6th N. C. Brass Ban plaid the Bonnie Blew Flag. And about eleven O'clock we got to a littel town cauld Sperysvill 5 miles from Woodwin And about 2 O'clock in the eavning we past threw Washington and ther we found a meney pritty and kind Ladies they had water all along the streets for the Soldiers to drink and we didnt go but a few miles futher untell we stopt for the nite after going about 20 miles that day.

And the morning of the 12th we started about sun up and about 3 o'clock in the eavning we crossed over the Blew Ridg and past threw a littel town cauld Front Royal and about a

mile from ther we waded the Shonadoak River and taken up camp on the other bank that nite.

And the morning of the 13th we started at day and when we got in 12 miles of Winchester we found that the Yankees was at New Town on the Pike road running from Winchester to Strawsburg (Strasburg) 7 miles from Winchester and we turnd and went by ther and caught up with the Yankees about half way from ther to Winchester and attacked them and drove them back about a mile by nite

And the next morning which was the 14th General Hooks (Hoke) Bregaid and General Smith and Hoses (?) all moved around to the west of Winchester and taken 20 peases of artillery with ous and when we got opersit the Yankees work the artillery taken ther position and about 3 o'clock in the eavning our Baterys opend on them taken them on surprise and General Hares (?) and General Smith Bregaid charged on them and taken their first line of brest works befour nite And General Johnstons (Johnson) Divishion was a fiting them on the other Sid clost to town

And the next morning which was the 15th the Yankees had left their works and was a trying to make thir escape toward Martinsburg but about day they run up on General Johnstons divishion about 5 miles from town wher three Regt of them was maid to stack thir armes and a grate meney kild and wounded we then marched down to whar Johnston fought them that morning and stopt and staid ther all day

And the next morning about 10 o'clock our Regt was marched back to Winchester for Provost gard and about a hour befour sun down I was sent to Taylor's Hotell with 10 men to gard the Yankees Prisoners And I staid ther the next day and also the next

And the next morning which was the 18th I was relieved about 9 O'clock and started after my Regiment and about 3 o'clock in the eavning we got to Smithfield and by nite we got to a littel plais cauld Leas Town which was 22 miles from Winchester and we staid ther all nite and the next morning we over-



taken our Regiment about five miles from ther wher we staid all day

And the next day we staid ther

And the 22th we taken up a line of march again about day and about 7 o'clock we past threw Shepardstown and ther waded the Potomac and landed in Maryland about 8 oclock And about 3 miles from ther we past threw Sharpsburg And about 3 miles from ther we past threw Ketersvill And about 3 miles from ther we past threw Boonesboro and about 3 miles from ther we stopt to camp.

The 23 we left about day and when we had gon about 4 miles we come to Beversvill and about 7 miles from ther we past threw Coverstown And about a mile from ther we past threw Smithburg whar we found a good meney Secesh And about 2 miles from ther we got to a littel town cauld Ringgoal wright war the line run between M. D. & Pa. And about 2 miles from ther we stopt to camp and cook rations closs to Wainsboro.

The morning of the 24 we left about 7 oclock and after marching about 5 miles we come to a town cauld Quincy And about 3 miles from ther we past threw Funktown and about 4 miles from ther we got to Greenswood whar we taken up camp for the nite but our company had to go on gard at a town cauld Faytvill about 2 miles off.

The morning of the 25th I got a Splendid breakfast in Faytville And about 2 Oclock in the eavning we was releaved and went back to the Regt:

And the next morning which was the 26th we had orders to leave at day break but it was a raning so hard we didnt leave untell about 8 oclock and it didnt Still sease raning but rained all day but we got as far as Momenburg by nite which was 14 miles from wher we left in the morning And our Calvery taken a 135 prisners clost to the lettell town

The 27 we left about 6 oclock and after marching about 6 miles we come to a town cauld Hunterstown And about 4 miles from ther we got to New chester And 3 miles from ther we



got to Hampton And 3 miles from ther we got to Berlin wher we taken camp for the nite

The 28th we left at sun up and about 12 oclock we got to Yolk which was 12 miles from Berlin :

The 29th we stade at Yolk in the Yankees Hospital.

The 30th we left at day break and taken the same road back that we com And about 12 oclock we got back to Berlin again And when we stopt for nite we was about 20 miles from Yolk :

### The Month of July

The first morning of July we left earley and about 12 oclock we got to Gatersburg (Gettysburg) which was about 10 miles from wher we started in the morning And when we got there we found the Yankies was ther And in a few minutes after we got ther we was ordered to the feal Our Bregaid and General Haser (Hays) charged the enemy and soon got them routed and run them threw the town and then we stopt

In our Company George Lyon Marshal Walker and Thomas Richard got kild And Sidney Hensby Anderson Plesant D. A. Walker Garababel Grimstead William Dunervant & Bedford Sawyers was wounded

The 2 day we laid in a line of battel at the Same plais And the enemies picket a firing on us all day Thomas Miles kild on picket Shot in the head And about Sun down our Bregaid and Hoser was ordered to charge just in frund and take the enemies Batterys we charged and succeeded in driven the infantry from behind two stone fences and got part of the Batterys But it was soon so dark and so much smoke that we couldnt see what we was a doing And the enemy got to geather again and we had no reinforcement and we had to fall back to our old position Colonel I. E. Avry (Avery) was kild in the charge in our company non kild Andrew Thompson Franklin Wells and R. Y. Vaughn was wounded And Michagels Miles misen

The 3 morning we went back in town and laid in a line of battel all day in the Streets And ther was a great deel of fiting don that day but our Divishion was not cauld on

The nex morning about a hour befour day we went back about a mile from town and staid ther all day

The morning of the 5 we left befour day and it a raining as hard as it could poor and marched in the direction of Hagerdstown and didnt get but about 6 miles all day for the Yanks calvry kep a running up on ous all day

And the 6th we left at day and about 2 oclock we got to Wainsboro and we past threw town and then stopt to cook rations

The 7th we taken the road to Hagerdstown which was 10 miles from Wainsboro And about 2 oclock in the eavning we got ther and taken up camp

The 8th day it rained very hard and we still stade at the same plais the 8 we staid ther and the 10 we staid at the same place until about a hour by sun And then started and past threw town and went about a mile toward Williamsport and stopt and staid all nite

The 11th we taken our position in a peas of woods and after nite built brest works

The 12th we staid behind our works and no fiting don except sum picketing And after nite we was ordered to the wright And was marched down in rear of A. P. Hills old Divishion

The 13th we staid ther untill dark and then started to re-treet back across the Potomac And it was about 6 miles to the river and it was a raning very hard And we was a moving all nite and the next morning about sun up we waded the Potomac at Williamsport and it was waist deep And then we marched about 6 miles and stopt to cook rations

The 15th we marched about 7 miles and stopt at nite clost to Martinsburg And the 16th we marched up to Darksvill and stopt again And we still staid at Darksvill untell about a hour by sun and marched to the Alagater mountain by 10 Oclock in the nite:

The 21 we left at day break and crost the mountain And marched as far as Hedgersvill by 2 Oclock in the eavning which was 25 miles we expected to bag the Yankees at plais but when we got ther they was all gon;

The 22th we left Hedgersvill and marched back to Bunker-hill whitch was 18 miles.

The 23 we marched and about 10 oclock we marched threw Winchester and taken the road to Culpeper and marched about 5 miles and stopt for the nite:

The 24th we marched near the Shanadoah River and found that the Yankees had got possession of the gap in the Blew Ridg

And then we taken the write and come in to the Winchester and Stanton Road at Middeltown 5 miles from Strawsburg and we stopt at nite clost to Strawsburg which was 23 miles from wher we started at in the morning

The 25th we marched all day toward Stanton and travild about 18 miles and stopt clost to Edensburg:

The 26th we past threw Hawkenstown and 2 miles from ther we come to Mount Jackson and we marched as far as New Market and stopt fer the nite

The 27th we left the Stanton road and taken a road that led to Gordensvill: we crost over the Shanadoah mountian and crost the Shanadoah river on Pontoon Bridges and when we stopt at nite we was at the foot of the Blew Ridg which was 18 miles from Newmarket

The 28th we crost over the Blew Ridg which was 14 miles across it

The 29th we marched up to Maderson coathouse whitch was 6 miles and stopt and taken up camp

The 30 we staid at the same plais

The 31st we left at one Oclock and marched down between Culpeper and Gordensvill

#### A list of Co. H.

##### Sargants.

- |                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1 Johnston I. H. | 4 Hester N. W. |
| 2 Rudd A. P.     | 5 Malone B. Y. |
| 3 Bauldin W. H.  |                |

##### Corporel

- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 Murrie W. W. | 3 Walker M. H.  |
| 2 Biele C.     | 4 Tompson A. J. |

## Privat

- |                     |                          |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Aldridg I. H.     | 35 Miles J. S.           |
| 2 Anderson Q. T.    | 36 Moore A.              |
| 3 Alred J. B.       | 37 Malone H.             |
| 4 Bivins M          | 38 Murrey T              |
| 5 Brincefield A. J. | 39 Mckinnie Murphy B. P. |
| 6 Brankin I         | 40 Mosey J. W.           |
| 7 Beswell T         | 41 Oliver J. S.          |
| 8 Cooper W. H.      | 42 Olver T               |
| 9 Covington I. E.   | 43 Plesant A. M.         |
| 10 Compton I. E.    | 44 Page F.               |
| 11 Colmond J. E.    | 45 Roberson J.           |
| 12 Cape T. H.       | 46 Rudd E.               |
| 13 Chatham C        | 47 Richmond W.           |
| 14 Donoho S.        | 48 Richmond T.           |
| 15 Dunervant I.     | 49 Rigan N.              |
| 16 Dunervant W.     | 50 Simpson F.            |
| 17 Evins T. H.      | 51 Swift R.              |
| 18 Enoch R. H.      | 52 Smith L.              |
| 19 Fauller I        | 53 Swift H. A.           |
| 20 Fitch G. S.      | 54 Stadler G.            |
| 21 Grimsteard G.    | 55 Subfield R.           |
| 22 Hensley S        | 56 Snips J. C.           |
| 23 Hensley A        | 57 Tucker A.             |
| 24 Huges W. A.      | 58 Vaughn R. Y.          |
| 25 Hooper N         | 59 Williams J. W.        |
| 26 Johnston I. H.   | 60 Williams J. R.        |
| 27 Kersey L.        | 61 Walker John           |
| 28 King S           | 62 Walker W. S.          |
| 29 Lyon G.          | 63 Walker J. H.          |
| 30 Lyon I. H.       | 64 Walker D. A.          |
| 31 Loyd I. W.       | 65 Walker W. T.          |
| 32 Lewis C.         | 66 Wells M.              |
| 33 Miles M.         | 67 Wells W. F.           |
| 34 Miles T. C.      | 68 Wren W.               |

Bartlett Y. Malones, Book

This the 19th of Nov. 1863

Bartlett. Y. Malones Book

This is the 18th of Dec. 1863

Bartlett. Y. Malone Seg't. of Co: H.

6th N. C. Regiment

This the 22d of Dec. 1863

And we staid in camp clost to Rappidan Station untell the 14th of Sept. 63. And the morning of the 14th we was roused up and gave orders to cook one days rations. And about sun up we started to meat our enemy and we met them at Sumersvill foad on the Rappidan River which was about 5 miles from our old camps. We had not bin there long untell our enemy comenced throwing bumbs amung us but as soon as our Batterys got position and fired a few shots the yanks all left the field. And the 15th we laid in the woods all day. No fiting don but some canonading and picketing but at dark our Reg't went on picket down at the foad. The 16th as soon as lite our men comenced firing at the Yanks and they at us and kept it up all day about 10 o'clock in the day Capt. Pray of Co. D & Lieut Brown of Co. E and 18 men voluntierd and went up the river and crost in a littel Boat and Slipt up to some old houses and fierd at the Yanks & run about 200 of them out of their works and captured a horse severl good Guns Blankets another trick and then crost back and never got a man hirt. They kild 4 or 5 of the Yanks & wounded 4 which they taken prisners. We got 4 wounded in our Reg't. dewing the day. At nite we was relieved by the 57th N. C. Reg't. The 17th no fiting don except a few picket shots evry now an then at the foad.

Evry thing was quiet then untell the 5th day of Oct. 63. And the 5th day of Oct. about tenn Oclock we was ordered to fall in at a moment and then marched to our post and taken our position in a line of battel. And we remaind so untell nite and then was marched back to our camps again. The Yanks

could be seen moving about from a high on our side of the river. Our Generals supposed that they was agoing to make an effort to cross. But they did not: they was onley moving camps: All was quiet then untill the 8th. The 8th day we left our camps about dark and marched about 2 miles and stopt and staid all nite. The 9th day we marched up to Orange C. H. by 12 o'clock: then taken the road to Maderson C. H. (Madison) marched 6 or 7 miles and stop for nite again.

The 10th we got to Maderson by 4 o'clock in the evening and crost Roberson River at 3 and then marched about 4 miles futher toward Culpeper and stopt for nite our Cavalry had a littel fite in the evening at the River taken about one hundred prisners. The 11th we marched toward Culpeper and got in 6 miles and stopt and cooked 3 days rations. it was 20 miles from Maderson C. H. to Culpeper C. H.

The 12th we had orders to leave at 2 o'clock: A. M. but did not leave untill day we marched on then untill we was in 2 miles of Culpeper. And then taken the left and came in the Warrenton road at Pickersvill And there we waded Haselrun and marched on to the Rappahannock River and campst clost to Warrenton Spring. The 13th we marched up to Warrenton and stopt and cooked 2 days rations: The 14th we left for Bristol but had to drive our enemy befoure us our Cavalry was fiting them allday and some times the Infantry, our Divishion don a great deal of hard marchen had to dubbelquick nearly one third of our time. A. P. Hill Corps overtaken the Yanks at Bristol Station and had a littel fite: we did not get ther in time to be ingaged

The 15th the Yanks had all fell back to Sentervill (Center-ville) we did not go eney further our Cavalry folerd them and taken severl Prisners.

The 16th we tore up the Railroad

The 17th we staid in camp clost to Bristol Station.

The 18th we left at 3 o'clock in the nite for Rappahannock and got as far as Beattoe Station by nite.

The 18th we marched to the Rappahannock and crost and went in camps between the river and Brandy Station



The 28th our Reg't went on picket on the Rappahannock  
The 29th we was relieved  
The 30th we had bregaid drill  
The 31st had muster inspection

The Month of November (and December)

The 5th day of Nov. General Lea & Governer Letcher of Va. reviewed General Stuart Cavalry clost to our camps

The 6th we was paid off And paid up to the first day of November, 1863.

The 7th about 2 o'clock in the eavning orders came to fall in with armes in a moment that the enemy was atvancen. Then we was doubbelquicked down to the river (which was about 5 miles) and crost and formed a line of battel in our works and the yanks was playing on ous with thir Artillery & thir skirmishers a firing into ous as we formed firing was kept up then with the Skirmishers untell dark. And about dark the yanks charged on the Louisianna Bregaid which was clost to the Bridg and broke thir lines and got to the Bridge we was then cutoff and had to Surrender: was then taken back to the rear and staid thir untell next morning The morning of the 8th we was marched back to Warrenton Junction and got on the cars and about day next morning we got to Washington we then staid in Washington untel 3 o'clock in the eavning of the 8th then was marched down to the Warf and put on the Stermer John Brooks and got to Point Lookout about one O'clock on the eavning of the 10th day of November 1863. The names of the men that was taken prisner when I was belonging to Co. H. was Capt. Lea Lieut. Hill W. H. Bowldin N. W. Hester W. W. Murrie C. Rile H. Malone I. R. Aldridge L. T. Anderson A. I. Brincefield I. E. Covington T. Y. Compton I. C. Chatham T. H. Evans G. R. Grimstead W. A. Hughs N. Hooper H. Kersey A. More W. D. Richmond F. Simpson R. Swift L. Sawers H. Roscoe A. Tucker John Walker W. S. Walker W. F. Wells I. Wren S. Hensley And Segt. A. P. Rudd

Our rations at Point Lookout was 5 crackers and a cup of coffee for Breakfast. And for dinner a small ration of meat 2

crackers three Potatoes and a cup of Soup. Supper we have non. We pay a dollar for 8 crackers or a chew of tobacco for a cracker.

A Yankey shot one of our men the other day wounded him in the head shot him for peepen threw the cracks of the planken

The last day of November was very coal indeed and the Yanks had inspection of ous Rebels. One of the Yankee Sentinerls shot one of our men the other morning he was shot in the head: soon died.

All the wood we get to burn at Point Lookout is one sholder tirn of pine brush every other day for a tent 16 men to every tent

The 16th of Dec. 63 a Yankey Captain shot his Pistel among our men and wounded 5 of them; sence one has died—he shot them for crowding arond the gate. The captain's name that shot was Sids. Him and Captain Patison and Segt. Finegan was the 3 boss men of the prisoners camp.

The 24th of Dec. 63 was a clear day but very cool. And Generl Butler the Yankey beast reviewed the prisners camp:

The 25th was Christmas day and it was clear and cool and I was boath coal and hungry all day onley got a peace of Bread and a cup of coffee for Breakfast and a small Slice of Meat and a cup of Soup and five Crackers for Dinner and Supper I had non:

The 26th was clear and cool and dull for Christmas

The 28th was cloudy and rained a littel The 28th was a raney day.

The 29th was cloudy in the morning and clear in the eavning. And Jeferson Walker died in the morning he belonged to the 57th N. C. Regt. The 30th was a beautyfull day.

The 31st which was the last day of 63 was a raney day. And maby I will never live to see the last day of 64. And thairfour I will try and do better than I have. For what is a man profited if he shal gain the whole world and loose his one Soul: Or what Shal one give in exchange for his Soul:

B. Y. MALONE.

B. Y. MALONE'S BOOK  
FOR THE YEAR 1864

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I spent the first day of January 64 at Point Lookout M. D. The morning was pleasant but toward evening the air changed and the night was very cool. It was so cool that five of our men froze to death before morning. We all suffered a great deal with cold and hunger too of our men was so hungry to day that they caught a Rat and cooked him and eat it. Their names was Sergt. N. W. Hester & I. C. Covington.

The 6th was cool and cloudy and we had 9 men to die at the Hospital to day. Our beds at this place is composed of Sea feathers that is we gather the small stones from the Bay and lay on them

The 7th was very cool a small Snow fell after night

The 10 was a nice day and I saw the man to day that makes Coffins at this place for the Rebels and he said that 12 men dies here every day that is average 12

The Commander at this point is named Marston

The 22th day of January 64 was a very pretty day And it was my birth day which made me 25 years of age I spent the day at Point Lookout. M. D. And I feasted on Crackers and Coffee The two last weeks of January was beautiful weather

The Month of February. 64 The first day of February was warm but cloudy and some rain:

Be content with such things as you have: For he hath said I will never leave thee nor forsake thee So we may boldly say the Lord is my helper and I will not fear what man shall do unto me

There fell a Small Snow the morning of the third Sergt. A. P. Rudd & Sidney King arrived at Point Lookout from Washington the 4th. We changed Cook houses on the 7th of Feb.

The 14th of Feb was a pretty day And the Yankees searched the Prison Camp the Rebels was all sent out side under guard.

And then they sirched and taken evry mans Blanket that had more then one. And taken evry other little trick that the Rebels had. They found too Boats that the Rebs had maid.

375 Officers arived at Point Lookout from Jonstan Isle the 14th of Feb. The Yankey papers say that they are having a Gun maid that weighs 115,000 lbs. 21 ft. long carries a Ball that weighs 1000 Lbs and a shell that weighs 700 lbs.

The 17th it was so coal that we all had to lye down and rap up in our Blankets to keep from freazing for we had no wood to make us a fire.

The 18th it was so coal that a mans breath would freaze on his beard going from the Tent to the Cookhouse. O, it was so coal the 18th

The 20th was pleasant and General Butler the Beast reviewed the Prison Camp again for the Second time

The 24th was a beautyfull day And too of the Rebs got kild the nite of the 24th attempting to get away: We was garded at Point Lookout by the second fifth and twelfth New-hampshire Regiments untell the 25th of Feb: And then the 26th N. C. Negro Regiment was plaised gard over ous

A Yankey preacher preached to the Rebels the 26th day of Feb: 1864: His text was in first Corinthian 16 chap and 22th virse The words was this: If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ let him be Anathema Maren athas That is let him be acursed when the Lord shal come

### The Month of March

The first day of March was coal and raney: And our Company was examined on the Oath question evry man was taken in the House one at a time and examioned: the questions asked me was this: Do you wish to take the Oath and join the U. S. Armeiy or Navey: or work at govenment work or on Brestworks or Do you wish to take a Parole and go to your home if it be insied of our lines or do you wish to go South I told him I wished to go South: He then asked me my name County State Company & Regiment The 2d two thousen Rebels left Point Lookout M. D. for Dixie:

The 3d I met with The good luck of geting sum Cloathing from Dixie: 600 Rebels left for Dixie again the 9th.

Another boat load of Rebels left Point Lookout the 16th for Dixie.

250 Officers arived at Point Lookout the 20th

One of our Rebel officers maid me a present of a dollar in greenback (the 21st) he stuch it threw the crack of the planken to me without being asked

The 20h of March a Yankey Sergt: named Young shot one of our Officers for jawing him:

The 22d was very coal and stormey and a while befour nite it comenced snowing and snowed all nite: the snow would avridge 3 inches deep the next morning:

The 25th I went to the cookhouse for a cook:

### The Month of April

The first day of April was a very nice day.

The 5th was a very bad day it rained hard snowed and the wind blew the Bay was so high that it overflowed part of the Camp. Some men had to leave thir tents and moove up to the Cook house: There was some men in camp who had been going about of nits and cuting tents and sliping mens Knapsacks Hats Boots and Sumetimes, would get Some money They cut into ours and got money and cloathen all amounting to about one hundred dollars: One nite the Negros was on gard and caught them they was then plaised under gard and made ware a Barrel Shirt (and marched) up and down the Streets with large letters on them the letters was this *Tent Cutters*

The 12th the 3d Maryland Negro Regiment was plaised on gard around the Prison Camp: When the Negrows first come on gard they wore thir knapsacks and when they was put on poast they puled them off and laid them down at the end of thir lines And Some of our men stole too of them: And when the Negro found it was gone he sais to the next one on post Efrum- Efrum: tell that other Negrow up dar that the white folks has stold my knapsack a redy: The other one sais they have stold mine too but I want caring for the knapsack all I

hate about it is loosing Sophys Garotipe (daguerreotype?) One day too of them was on poast in the Streets and met up at the end of thir lines and comenced fooling with thir Guns what they could plaing bayonets they had thir guns cocked preseantly one of thir guns went of and shot the other one threw the brest he fell dead: the other one sais: Jim, Jim get up from dar you are not hurt your just trying to fool me:

The nite of the 18th a negrow Senternel shot one of our men wounded him very bad threw the sholdier

The nite of the 21st a Negro shot in a tent wounded two of our men

The 27th a load of Sick Rebels left Point Lookout M. D. for Dixie.

The 29th a nother Neagro kild him Self. Shot him Self in the mouth with his gun:

#### The Month of May 64

The 3d day of May 6 hundred Rebels left this plaice for Dixie

The 13th about one hundred prisnors was brought to this plaice they was capturd clost to Petersburg Va.

The 15th 40 prisnors arived at this point captured between Richmond and Petersburg by Gen. Butlers army

The 17th about one thousin Prisnors arived at this plaice was captured at the wilderness The 17th about 1000 was brought in from General Leas army

The 18th four hundred more was brought in the camp

The 24th a Neagro Senternel Shot a mung our men kild one and wounded three it is thought that one of the wounded will die:

The 28 four hundred more prisnors arived here We have Pork and Been Soop to day for dinner Will have beef and Coffee to morrow I believe I will go down in Camp, but the sun is very hot

#### The Month of June 1864

The first day of June was clear and hot



The 4th We had Beef and Potato Soop for dinner the Yanks are not a going to give us no more Coffee and Sugar from this on

The 8th 6 hundred Prisnors arived at this point from General Leas Armye

The 10th we have Old Bacon to day for dinner for the first time sience we have bin at P.t. Lookout

The 11th 500 more prisnors arived here.

The 18th of June which was three years from the time I voluntierd was cloudy and cool. And we had Pork and Hominy for dinner There is some talk of moving the Prisnors from this point it is getting to be very sickley here 11 men died at the Hospital yestiday it is said that the water is not healthy

It is reported that General Grant and General Lea are fiting on the South of the James River

From the 20th of June untell the last was very dry and dusty And we would hear good news evry now and then from our Armye Our Rations Still remain Small

July the 1st 1864

The first day of July 1861 I left home And the first day of July 1862 I was in the fight of Malvin Hill And the first day of July 1863 I was in the fight at Gettersburg And today whitche is the first day of July 1864 I am at Point Lookout M. d. It is very plesant to day We had pical Pork for breakfast this morn-ing and for dinner we will have Been Soop

The 4th day of July was a beautyfull day And the Yanks had thir Vesels riged off with flags they had about 34 flags on each Gun Boat about 12 O'clock they fierd Saluts boath from thir land Batry and Gun Boats.

The 13th day of July 13 of our men died at the Hospital And it was repoted that General Ewel was a fiting at Washington And that our Cavalry was in 4 miles of this plaice the Yanks was hurried up sent in all Detailes at 2 O'clock in the eavning and run thir Artilry out in frunt of the Block house and plaiced it in position The 14th 500 Rebels taken the Oath and went outside

The last day of July was the Sabath

No man is bornd without folts  
 Too much of one thing is good for nothin  
 Cut your Coat accorden to your cloth  
 All are not Sants who go to Church  
 All are not theavs that dogs bark at  
 Keep your mouth shut and your eyes open  
 A clean glove often hids a dirty hand  
 Seay what is well and do what is better  
 He that will steal a pin will steal a better thing  
 Fear no man and do justice to all men  
 Evry Cook praises his own stew  
 Before thou marry be sure of a house wherein to tarry  
 Evry bodys business is no body's business  
 Do what you ought come what may  
 Love cover meney folts.  
 The race is not always to the swift nor the battel to the strong  
 You cannot catch old birds with chaff.  
 A bad workman quarrels with his tools

B. Y. MALONE

B. Y. Malone Owes    ets  
 Q. T. Anderson    Paid  
 A. P. Rudd    Paid  
 T. Y. Compton    Paid  
 Sergt W. T. Johnson  
 Sergt. Laffoan  
 Samuel Mothers head  
 George Anthony

#### A Puzzel

There is a thing in divers of countrys  
 It neither is land nor Sea  
 It in all sorts of timber  
 And not in eny tree  
 It is neither in Italy  
 But in Rome  
 It appears twist in evry moment  
 And not once in twenty years

Dew B. Y. Malone	
Thomas Murray	\$1.00
John Forast	\$1.00
W. A. Hughs	\$1.00
E. W. Rudd	\$1.00
N. W. Hester    Paid	\$5.00
W. R. Richmond    Paid	\$5.00
T. Y. Compton    Paid	\$5.00
W. F. Wells    Paid	\$5.00
A. I. Brincfield    Paid	\$5.00
L. Kersey    Paid	\$5.00

B. Y. Malone Owes	
Q. T. Anderson    Paid	\$6.50
A. P. Rudd    Paid	\$5.00

Bartlett Y. Malone, Soldier of Co. H. 6th N. C. Regiment.

This April the 16th 64

Point Lookout, M. D.

O, that mine eyes might closed be  
 To what becomes me not to see  
 That deafness might possess mine ear  
 To what concerns me not to hear.

Mr. Demill & Co.,  
 No. 186 Front Street  
 New York City,  
 N. Y.

B. Y. Malones Chirography.

The Month of August 1864

The first day of August was clear and very hot    And 700  
 Rebels left here for Some other new Prison to day    A mung them  
 was my Brother A. A.

The 2d day of August I wrote home

The 6th of the month there rose a thunder cloud early in the

morning and rained very hard : there was a whirlwind just out side of the Prison on the point it blew the Comasary house and Shop down and seven other Buildings it destroyed a good deal wounded four senternels broak ones leg There was but littel wind inside of the Prison

The knight of the 7th A Neagro Senternel Shot one of our men and kild him for no cause attall

The 28th of August a Senternel shot a nother one of our men wounded him very badly it is thought that he will die

The two last days of August cool and plesant

### The Month of September

The firs days of September was plesant the Knights was cool but the days was plesant

The 2d day this is And our Rations gets no better we get half a loaf of Bread a day a smal slice of Pork or Beef or Sault Beef for Breakfast for Dinner a cup of Been Soup and Supper we get non Mr. A. Morgan of South Carolina has a vacon Cook House which he has bin teaching School in evry Sience last Spring he is a Christian man he preaches evry Sunday and has prayers evry morning befour School we have a Preacher to evry Division in the Camp Mr. Carrol preaches to our Divi which is the 8th This is the 5th day of the month and we are going to have Been Soup with onions in it to day for dinner we will have Potatoes and Onions boath to morrow the Dr had them sent in here for rebs to se if they would not stop Scirvy My health is very good to day which is the 6th of Sept. 64. But I cannot tell how long it will remain so. for it a raning and very coal to day Aand I have not got eney Shoes

This is the 7th and a pritty day it is and I am laying flat on my back on T. Y. Comptons Bead in Co. G 8th Division Point Lookout M. D.

The 8th was a beautyfull day And I had my Bunk Seting out by the Side of the Cook house and about dark I wanted to bring it in as I had bin doing but the Neagro Sentinel would not let me cross his line So I went down threw the house and asked a nother one if I could cross his line and get my Bunk and he

Said yes so I cross and got my Bunk and the first Neagro did not see me. And when he found that the Bunk was gone he come to the house door and wanted to know where that man was that taken that Bunk And if he didnt bring it back that he would come in there and Shoot him So then I had to go to the dor and he told me to bring that Bead back So I taken it back and could not get it any more untell I went and got the Lieut. of the Comisery to get it for me So you See this is the way we was treated by the Neagrows. B. Y. M.

The 15th of Sept was a beautyfull day And a general Stir among the Rebs the Dr. was getting up a load of Convalesant men to Send to Dixie. You could See men going to the Hospital to be examiond Some on Cruches and Some was not able to walk and would be Swinging a round others necks dragging a long

They got a load of five hundred and Sent them out of the Prison we Surpose they will leave the 15th for Dixie The 19th received a Box of tobacco from my Father James B. Malone who resides in Caswell County North Carolina The 21st all Prisnors belonging to the Confederate Staits Navy was Parold at this place.

This Sunday the 25th of September and it is very coal I wrote home to day

The 26th 800 Prisnors arived at this point belonging to Erleys (Early) Comand captured elost to Winchester The knight of 26th Some one stold 5.45 in greenback from me

The 27th 500 more Prisnors arived here from the same Comand

The 28th the Yanks brought in three Negrows that they caught helping a Lady across the Potomac Some where between here and Washington they brought them here and put them in Prison because they would not take the oath

The 30th I wrote to Bro. James

#### October 1864

The first day of October was cold and raney day The 3d 800 Prisnors arived here from Early's command captured at Fishers Hill Va. among them was James M Wells of Co H 6th N. C. Regt

The 4th 100 more Prisnors com in Ther is about 10,000 Prisnors here at this time last Summer ther was 15,000 here but Some was sent to Elmira N. Y.

The 7th was fasting and prayer day with ous for the reliece of all Prisnors

Today is the 8th and is very cold

The 13th was very cool And in the eavning 200 Rebs taken the Oath

The 15th I Sold the last of my Tobacco the Box brought me fifty five dollars and 70 cts

To day is the 16th And a beautyfull Sabath it is: the Boys in camp are all in a line wating to be inspected by Major A. G. Brady Provost Marshall

To day is the 18th and Secretary Stanton has just past threw the Camp.

The 21st 200 Rebels arived here from the Valey captured Severl days ago.

The 24th they parold Severl Sick men Said to be 2000 to leave in a few days.

The 25th Some more prisnors come in from the Valey Said that 900 was capturd when they was

The 29th About 80 Rebs arived here they was capturd clost Petersburg Old Butler kept them at work on a Pond 8 days under the fire of our guns.

The 31st 600 more Rebs arived here capturd clost to Petersburg

#### November 1864

The first of November was pritty weather.

The 7th witch was just twelve months from the time I was captured was a raney day.

The 8th was election day for president Abraham Lincoln & George B. McClellan was candidates

The 9th was warm and cloudy and our Rations ar not a good as they was a year ago: And I See no chance for marching Soon.

B. Y. MALONE.



The 18th of Nov. was a cold raney day Our men are not dying here like they have bin they onley avridge about too a day now The last of Nov. was pritty warm weather

#### December 1864

The first day of Dec was warm as Spring And the Yanks comenced building some littel plank houses covered with clouth for the Rebs to stay in

The 3d I paid 10 cets to go into a Concert that the Rebs had got up in camp it was a very good thing they performed in a bacon Cook-house.

The 4th which was the Sabath I went to meating at the School house Mr. Morgan lectured on the Parable of the Sower & in the eavning I was at the Same plaise and Mr. Carol preached a good Surmond from the later clause of the 2 virse 7 chapter of Amos: Theas was the words: By whom Shall Jacob arise: for he is small. After preaching was over the Sunday School classes met and thir teachers taken up the balance of the day in asking them questions and explaning the Scriptures to them We have white gard now for patroles in camp of knights the Neagros got so mean that the General would not alow them in Side of the Prison they got so when they would catch any of the men out Side of thir tents after taps they would make them doubble quick or jump on thir backs and ride them and some times they would make them get down on this knees and prey to God that they might have thir freadom and that his Soul might be sent to hell

To day is the 15th and it is cold looks very mutch like Snow we have had very coald weather for the last week we get Split Peas now to make Soups. Some day we get Bacon and some days Picle Pork and fresh Beef once a week

My health is very good at this time I weigh 155 lbs We have comenced drawing wood we get two smawl shoulder turns a day to a Company Each Company has 100 men

The 21st was a very cold raney day Brigadeer General Barnes in comand of the Point A. G. Brady is Provost Marchall Capt Barnes assistant Prov.

The 24th was a beautyfull day I chopt wood in the morning at the cookhouse in the eavning I bought 3 apples and set in the Sun Shine by the Side of Sergt. A. P. Rudd tent & eat them. And then my Self Q. T. Anderson W. W. Murrie & W. F. Wells went up to the School house to a Debate but did not get in And then we went back to the Tent and found T. Y. Compton with a newspaper that he had bought and we spent the remainder of the day in reading it.

The 25th was Christmas day And a beautyfull one it was. But I had nothing Strong to drink and but little to eat I had Some loaf Bread fryed Meat & Corn Coffee for breakfast and for dinner I had a cup of Split Pea Soup.

In the eavning I went to the School house to meating Mr. Carrol preached his text was in Zachariah 15th chapt 7 virse After preaching I went to the Comisery and found that Mr. Walas had bet Mr. Barby five dollars that there was a man in Camp that could eat 5 lbs of Bacon and 3 Loafs of Bread each loaf weighing 2 lbs at one meal. When I left he had onley about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a pound of Bacon and a half of a loaf of bread they Said he eat it all befoure he quit. This man belonged to the 11th Ala: Regiment

The 26th was a raney day

The 27 & 28 was cloudy

The 29th was cold and cloudy & Snowed a little in the Eavning

The 30th was cold

The 31st was very cold and Snowed a littel evry now & then threw the day.

BARTLETT Y. MALONE'S BOOK  
FOR THE YEAR 1865

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The Month of January

The first day of January was very cold & the grown was coverd with Snow :

The 2d was cold and cloudy

The 3d it snowed a littel in the eavning

The 4th was very cold and the Snow was 3 inches deep

The 5th was warm and cloudy

The 6th my Self A. R. Moore James R. Aldridg Nathaniel Hooper & T. Y. Compton built us a hous out of cracker Boxes the house coust us \$8.80 cts we bought a stove from the Sutlar the Stove coust us \$8.00 the Stove and house totel \$16.80.

The 15th was a beautyful Sabath & I went to meating & Mr. Newman preached from Psalms 8 ch. 4th Virse

The 17th it Snowed in the morning And about one thousen old men & littel Boys left for *Dixie*.

The 21st it rained and Sleated all day & a large Dixie mail came in one hudred & Sixty dollars worth of Due Letters :

The 22d was cold and cloudy & it was my birthday whitche made me 26 years old. And about 600 prysnors come in to day captured at Foat Fisher The men that came in Say that General Whiten & Colonel Lamb was captured and also wounded After knight a Neagrow Sentnal Shot one of our men and kild him.

The 23d a large Dixie mail come in I got 2 letters from home & one from Bro. Jim.

The 28th was clear but the coldest day we have had this winter there was a man froze to death in the 5th Division after knight.

The 29th was the Sabath I went to meating with Mr. Athy preached

The 30th & 31st was pritty warm days.

## February 1865

The first of Feb. was warm And 500 Rebels come in captured cllost Atlanta Ga.

The 4th all men belonging to Kentuckey Missouri Louisina Tennasee & Arkansas was cauld to go to *Dixie*.

They Still cauld on the 5 & 6th.

The 17th all prisnors captured at Gettersburg was cauld out.

The 18th the Gettersburg Prisnors left for *Dixie*.

The 21st all Prisnor capturd at Rappahanoc Station was cauld we all went out and Signed the Parole and was put in the Parole Camp and staid there most all the 24th then we was put on the Steamer George Leary we got to Fortress Monroe about dark And then run as far as Hampton Roads and there we staid all night Started next morning at light which was the 25 got to Acorns Landing about 10 Oclock which was about 12 miles from Richmond on the James River we then marched from there to Camp Lea we got to Camp Lea about dark We then Staid at Camp Lea untell the 27 when we wen over to Camp Winder.

## March 1865

The 2 day of March I got my Furlough the 3 they paid me 12 months wages which was 237.00.

Went down to Richmond got on the cars about 6 O'clock in the Eavning

The 4th I got to Barksdale Depot about 10 in the morning, got off at Barksdale marched to the Road house by dark Eat Supper with Mr. Hanrick marched on 2 miles further and Staid all night with Mr. Moss. Left early next morning which was the 5th eat Breakfast at Mr. Maxtons got home about 1 O'clock in the Eavning.

B. Y. MALONE.

B. Y. Malone was borned in the year of our Lord 1838 rased and graduated in the Corn field & Tobacco And inlisted in the war June the 18th 1861 And was a member of the Caswell Boys which was comanded by Capt Mitchel And 25 was attatched to the 6th N. C. Regt. which was comd by Coln Fisher who got kiled at the first Manassas fight which was fought July the 21st

1861. They was comanded by W. D. Pender untell the Seven Pine fight which was fought the 30th day of May 62 Col. Pender then was promoted to Brigadier General Then Capt. I. E. Avry of Co. E. was promoted to Lieut Colonel who comanded untell the Battel of Gettysburg where he was kild which fought the 2d day of July 1865.

Major R. F. Webb was then promoted to Col. who comanded untell we was done at the Rapahanock Bridg the 7th of Nov. 1863. Our Regt when was captured belonged to General Hooks Brigard Earlys Division Ewels Corps Leas Army.

B. Y. MALONE.





THE PROVINCIAL AGENTS OF  
NORTH CAROLINA

BY  
SAMUEL JAMES ERVIN, JR.



## THE PROVINCIAL AGENTS OF NORTH CAROLINA

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A great obstacle to a successful and peaceful government in North Carolina prior to the year 1748 was the lack of a medium in England through which the representatives of the people in the General Assembly could make known to the Crown and to the home authorities the needs, circumstances and desires of their constituents. This hindrance could be removed only by the appointment of an agent to represent and transact the business of the province at the various government boards in England. Colonel Saunders sums up the duties and responsibilities of such an agent admirably when he remarks :

To appreciate the importance of the agent's position it must be remembered that the Crown had the right to pass upon all the acts of the Legislature, and to repeal or "disallow" such as might for any reason seem inexpedient. The proceedings in the case were, in brief, as follows, viz: The act was, in the first instance, sent by the Governor to the Secretary of State for America, by whom it was laid before the Lords of the Board of Trade and by them referred to the Reporting Counsel to the Board, to consider and report whether or not the King ought to be advised to assent to it. In practice, the fate of the act depended very much upon the report of the Counsel, who, in turn, was very much guided by the impressions he received as to the circumstances under which the Provincial Assembly passed the act, the evils it was intended to remedy, and the manner in which it was intended to operate. All these things the agent, from his knowledge of affairs in the Province, would be able to explain to the Counsel, and in many ways not merely prevent unfavorable misapprehensions on the part of the Counsel, but to lead his opinion to a report favorable to the wishes of the Province. With the report of their Counsel, the act came back to the Board of Trade where it was considered, after notifying the agent to attend in all matters of consequence. With the report of the Board of Trade the act then went to the Lords of the Privy Council, upon whose final report its fate depended. These great officers also sought their information in the premises not from private individuals, but from these Provincial Agents, and without some person being

in England in that capacity in behalf of a Province, its affairs "slept." Memorials, addresses, petitions and such like papers passed through his hands. Every opening for the encouragement of the trade of the Province, it was his business to improve it, and equally so to endeavor to obviate any scheme that might hurt it, and hence it was his duty to keep posted as to the intentions of Government and of Parliament, all of which involved much labor of various kinds and great responsibility. In a word, the agent was to the colony what the ambassador was to a foreign country. Now, from the very nature of the duties of the agent, it is apparent that he was intended to be the representative not of the Governor, but of the opposition, so that the authorities "at home" in England might get both sides of the questions presented to them. Otherwise, the representations made by the Governor would have decided matters.<sup>1</sup>

The first proposal that an agent should be appointed to represent North Carolina in England was made by Governor Burrington in a speech to the Assembly in April, 1731. He declared that it was "absolutely necessary" to select an agent and arrange a regular salary for carrying on the public affairs of the province in England.<sup>2</sup> Shortly afterwards he repeated his recommendation.<sup>3</sup> Burrington's efforts, however, came to naught and seventeen years elapsed before the step was finally taken.

In October, 1748, the General Assembly passed a law called "An Act to appoint an Agent to solicit the Affairs of this Province at the several Boards in England." James Abercromby, of London, was chosen agent for a term of two years—from March 25, 1749, to March 25, 1751. He had already acted in this capacity, for the act provides that "the said James Abercromby, Esq., in consideration of his trouble, charges and expenses, in transacting the public business of this Province, as agent, *to this time*, and until the twenty-fifth day of March, next ensuing, be and is hereby allowed the sum of one hundred pounds, sterling." This, however, was the first time that an agent was officially appointed to act during a fixed term. Abercromby was granted a salary of 50£, sterling, annually. A committee, whose duty it was to correspond with and direct and advise the agent, was also chosen.

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Rec., VI, vii-ix.

<sup>2</sup> Col. Rec., III, 258.

<sup>3</sup> Col. Rec., III, 280.

The committee of correspondence, as it was called, was composed of Robert Halton and Eleazer Allen, of the Council, and Samuel Swann, John Starkey and John Swann, of the House of Commons. Whenever so ordered the committee should lay before the Governor, Council and Assembly the correspondence which had passed between it and the agent.<sup>4</sup> The mere fact that such able and influential men served on the committee of correspondence proves the great importance and responsibility of the office of agent.

It having been "found very beneficial to the Province that a proper person should, by public authority, solicit and represent the affairs" of the colony in England, and Abercromby's term of office having expired, the Assembly of 1751 re-enacted the agency law of 1748 for a period of three years. Abercromby was retained as agent and James Hasell and John Dawson, of the Council, were selected to fill the vacancies in the committee of correspondence occasioned by the deaths of Halton and Allen. The yearly salary of 50£ had been found inadequate and was increased to 100£. The sum of 111£ 9s. and 2d. was allowed Abercromby as compensation for extraordinary expenses incurred during his first term.<sup>5</sup>

In 1754 the agency act was extended again for a period of three years.<sup>6</sup> Upon the termination of Abercromby's third term in 1757, the lower house was disinclined to appropriate any money for public services, for taxes were already very burdensome. Consequently no agent was appointed.<sup>7</sup>

It would be monotonous to enumerate all of Abercromby's activities as agent. He performed several important services. When McCulloch, Morris, Corbin, Dobbs and others attacked Governor Johnston in 1749 and sought to compass his removal from the governorship, Abercromby successfully defended the Governor by cleverly delaying the proceedings before the Board of Trade.<sup>8</sup> He produced strong arguments favorable to an im-

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<sup>4</sup> State Rec., XXIII, 303-304.

<sup>5</sup> State Rec., XXIII, 362-363.

<sup>6</sup> State Rec., XXIII, 399; State Rec., XXV, 266.

<sup>7</sup> Col. Rec., V, 788-789, 928, 938.

<sup>8</sup> Col. Rec., IV, 934-939, 942; Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 272.

portant quit rent law passed by the Assembly, which Lamb, the Reporting Counsel to the Board of Trade, had disapproved. Altogether, he discharged the functions of his office in a most acceptable and efficient manner. In a letter to the Board of Trade, dated April 13, 1758, he informed the board that he was no longer agent for the colony and advised it to instruct the Governor to recommend to the Assembly the passage of an act to call in as much of the old paper currency as possible, to be paid off by the share of North Carolina in the grants which Parliament had made to reimburse the colonies for their appropriations and aid in the war then being carried on against France and her Indian allies.<sup>10</sup> The suggestion contained much wisdom, because the provincial currency was greatly depreciated in value.

The Parliamentary grants were two in number. The first was an appropriation of 200,000£, which was allotted to all of the colonies for distribution. The second amounted to 50,000£, which was to be distributed among the two Carolinas and Virginia. In November, 1758, the Assembly convened and entered into a heated dispute with Governor Dobbs concerning the right to dispose of the share of the colony in the Crown's bounties. The house also contended that it had the right to name an agent and the committee of correspondence. The Assembly and the Governor were in utter disagreement.<sup>11</sup>

A bill was introduced at this session for the location of the seat of government at Tower Hill, near Stringer's Ferry, on the Neuse—a site which Dobbs had chosen—and for the erection of a state house, a secretary's office and a residence for the Governor should he decide to reside there. Another bill which was introduced provided for the enlistment of three hundred soldiers to serve against the French, the bringing over in specie of the colony's share of the royal grants and putting the same into the custody of the provincial treasurers, and for the appointment of an agent. A committee of correspondence, composed entirely of

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<sup>9</sup> Col. Rec., V, 448-456.

<sup>10</sup> Col. Rec., V, 928-929.

<sup>11</sup> Col. Rec., VI, x, 1-3; Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 294.



members from the lower house, was named in the bill and Abercromby was to be the agent.<sup>12</sup>

The Governor regarded the first bill as a scheme to persuade him to give his assent to the second, and said that the lower house would even have paid his house rent and the expenses which he incurred in attending the Congress at Philadelphia in order to obtain his approval of it. Dobbs also charged several of the leaders of the house and the two treasurers with having arranged a plan whereby they would get "our proportion of the sum which his Majesty had graciously recommended to Parliament to reimburse the southern colonies, which they expected would be at least 15,000£, into their custody under the direction of the Assembly, which they ruled, and so apply it as they thought proper, without his Majesty or the Governor or the Council's interfering in it." Dobbs objected to the bill on the ground that it was an encroachment upon the rights of the Governor and Council, and not in conformity to the powers of the Assembly. He thought it improper and illegal to tack on the aid bill the sections dealing with the appointment of an agent and with the royal grants. He desired, however, to have the bill locating the capitol at Tower Hill enacted. The members of the Assembly declared that the bill which Dobbs wished to pass should not pass unless the other bill went "hand and glove" with it.<sup>13</sup>

Being determined to defeat the one and to pass the other, Dobbs resorted to a very clever stratagem. He instructed his followers in the Council not to oppose the aid bill, except in some insignificant matters of amendment until it had passed the third reading in the house and had been sent to the upper house for ratification. When both bills had passed the third reading in the house, he made it clear to the members of the Council that he desired the aid bill defeated by saying that he "wanted their advice whether to pass a bill of an extraordinary nature which affected his Majesty's prerogative and the rights of the Governor and Council," and which was contrary to the instructions

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<sup>12</sup> Col. Rec., V, 1087; Col. Rec., VI, 1-3.

<sup>13</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 1-3.

which he had received from the authorities in England. The strategy succeeded. The bill locating the capitol at Tower Hill was passed, but the Council, under Dobbs' influence, deferred action on the aid bill for several days, by which time the Governor was to prorogue the Assembly. Governor Dobbs described the result in this manner:

Upon this disappointment the lower house were all in a flame, the managers being greatly disappointed, and represented to me that there must be a dissolution unless the upper house would resume the bill, desiring I would speak to the Council to revoke their resolution and pass the bill.

The Governor, of course, declined to interfere. He agreed to join with the house in recommending that the money already due Abercromby for his services as agent be paid out of the Parliamentary grants.<sup>14</sup> Thereupon the lower house appointed James Abercromby its own agent for two years with an annual salary of 150£, to be paid out of the colony's portion of the 50,000£ bounty. Sam Swann, Thomas Barker, John Starkey, George Moore and John Ashe, all members of the house, were appointed committee of correspondence. The house adopted an address congratulating the Crown upon the victories won from the French and praying that a part of the sum allotted North Carolina should be used in establishing free schools in each county. Then Dobbs prorogued the Assembly.<sup>15</sup>

At its next sitting the council chose Samuel Smith, of London, Dobbs' private attorney, as agent.<sup>16</sup> The province now had two agents, neither of whom legally occupied the office. An agent appointed by one house only lacked authority and was unable to represent the colony as it ought to have been represented.

In the spring of 1759, urgent calls for troops were made upon Governor Dobbs, for the army in the North stood in dire need of re-enforcements. Dobbs called the Assembly to meet at Newbern on the 8th of May.<sup>17</sup> The house almost immediately passed

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<sup>14</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 2-3; Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 295.

<sup>15</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 2-3, 9, 76; Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 295.

<sup>16</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 77.

<sup>17</sup> Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 295.

an aid bill similar to the one defeated by Dobbs at the preceding session. The forces of the province were to be increased to three hundred men, exclusive of officers. An aid of 6,000£ was to be granted for enlisting and maintaining this force, and Abercromby was to be appointed agent. He was to present documents to the English government showing the expense North Carolina had been at in affording assistance against the enemy. Upon being properly bonded, Abercromby was to receive from the English authorities the portion of the 50,000£ grant assigned to the province and transmit the same to the provincial treasurers after deducting the sum due him for previous services and so much as might be necessary to defray the cost of insurance and shipment to the treasurers of the colony. The committee of correspondence was to be composed entirely of members of the lower house.<sup>18</sup> The council wished to amend the bill by eliminating the sections which dealt with the appointment of an agent. The house refusing to agree to the amendment, the council declined to pass the bill and the session was adjourned without any measures having been passed.<sup>19</sup>

The Board of Trade disagreed with Dobbs in most of the positions which he took in the controversy with the house. Although it could not do otherwise than approve of his having defeated the bill, the Board informed Dobbs that the aid bill did not lessen the Crown's prerogative to the extent he feared. The Board affirmed the contentions of the lower house that the Assembly had the right to appropriate the funds granted the province by Parliament and that it had the inherent right to name the agent. Though it saw no reason for disapproving the bill in its abstract principles, the Board ruled that the appointment of an agent, being separate from the aid bill, ought to have been provided for in a separate act and that the committee of correspondence should have been composed of members of both houses.<sup>20</sup>

A new Assembly was called to meet in April, 1760. The chief purpose for calling this meeting was to have an aid bill passed

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<sup>18</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 37-38, 102-103.

<sup>19</sup> Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 295.

<sup>20</sup> Col. Rec., VII, 54-55.

so that the province might afford assistance in the military campaigns then being planned. In his speech to the Assembly the governor recommended the election of an agent to receive and remit the share of the colony in the grants of the Crown.<sup>21</sup> Owing to the failure of the governor and the Assembly to agree upon a suitable law establishing courts, there had been no courts in the province for several months and much disorder had arisen in Edgecombe, Halifax and Granville Counties. Being anxious to pass a law establishing and regulating courts, the Assembly determined not to pass an aid bill until an act creating superior courts should be passed. Dobbs was equally resolved not to let the house have its way.<sup>22</sup>

The quarrel waxed warmer. On May 23, the house went into a committee of the whole and resolved that if any member should make known to any person the remarks of any member in any debate or proceeding in the house, he should be expelled from his seat as being unworthy of it. In this secret session, the Assembly adopted twenty resolutions setting forth the arbitrary conduct of the governor. An address to the Crown was drawn up complaining of abuses perpetrated by the governor, describing the unsatisfactory conditions prevalent in the province and declaring that Dobbs' influence over the council had prevented the colony from having an agent in England. The address asserted that the real cause for the council's rejection of the aid bill of the last session and of the governor's displeasure with it was that it did not name as agent Dobbs' private attorney, Mr. Smith.<sup>23</sup>

Being brought to reason by the drastic action of the Assembly, Dobbs promised to assent to a court law which should not be in force for more than two years unless ratified by the Crown provided the Assembly passed an aid bill. The court bill received the assent of the governor, but being dissatisfied with some of the provisions of the aid bill and deeming it no longer necessary, Dobbs refused to give his assent to it.<sup>24</sup> It seems that

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<sup>21</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 347.

<sup>22</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 408-409; Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 287-298.

<sup>23</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 409-415.

<sup>24</sup> Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 298-299.

Robert Jones, a lawyer, was selected as agent in the defeated aid bill.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time the council refused to approve a bill naming Abercromby agent.<sup>26</sup> Thereupon the Assembly chose Anthony Bacon, a merchant of London.<sup>27</sup> The council declined to sanction this selection and asked that five of its members be put upon the committee of correspondence. It was also requested that all business to be transacted with the agent must be approved by three members of the committee from each house. Upon the refusal of the house to amend the bill as proposed, the council rejected it.<sup>28</sup>

The house appointed Bacon as its agent for a term of two years and resolved "that Samuel Swann, John Starkey, George Moore and John Ashe, or any three of them" constitute the committee of correspondence.<sup>29</sup>

Dobbs postponed the meeting of the Assembly until September. The beginning of hostilities between the Cherokees and the frontiersmen rendered it imperative to call the meeting in mid-summer. In this emergency measures were taken for the defense of the colony.<sup>30</sup> The council tabled a bill providing for the appointment of an agent.<sup>31</sup>

At the next session of the Assembly, which was held in November, 1760, the house addressed the governor saying:

We flatter ourselves, had we been so fortunate as to have had the concurrence of the other branches of the legislature in passing a law (more than once attempted) for appointing an agent in London, who might have produced proper documents of our expenses and represented our duty and zeal for his Majesty's service (considering our circumstances), in their true light to his Majesty's ministers, we should have been in expectation of partaking of his Majesty's royal grace and favour out of the first 200,000£ granted by Parliament to the colonies, and of

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<sup>25</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 297.

<sup>26</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 423, 424.

<sup>27</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 429.

<sup>28</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 423-424.

<sup>29</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 436.

<sup>30</sup> Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 301.

<sup>31</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 444.



which Virginia has received 20,546£ as her proportion exclusive of 32,268£ and 19s. out of the 50,000£ grant; whereas the whole coming to this Province is not more than 7,789£ 1s. 1d. sterling; and even out of which, there is a demand of 1,000£, as your Excellency informs us, that was advanced by Lord Loudoun, and Mr. Shirley, to pay the forces at New York notwithstanding a sufficient fund raised by this Province; and therefore we cannot help being of opinion that the small part of his Majesty's royal bounty coming to this Colony is apparently owing to the want of an agent to represent our dutiful behaviour to his Majesty and his ministers.<sup>32</sup>

The fact that North Carolina did not have an agent in England was due to Dobbs' defeat of the various aid bills whereby an agent would have been appointed. North Carolina had expended about 66,000£ in assisting in waging the war. More than half of this amount had been spent for services outside the province and the colony had justly expected to receive a considerable amount of the royal grants. Dobbs' persistent refusal to concur in the appointment of an agent resulted in great financial loss to the colony.<sup>33</sup>

Following the address of the house to the governor, both houses passed an act which granted an aid for operations against the enemy and appointed Bacon agent to lay before the English authorities documents showing the expense the colony had incurred in the war.<sup>34</sup> This act was disapproved of by the governor. He adjourned the Assembly for two days that it might reconsider and expunge the "foreign" clauses and name an agent who would not be objectionable to him. This advice was accompanied by a threat to dissolve the Assembly.<sup>35</sup>

In a committee of the whole, the house resolved that the naming of an agent was its inherent right and that the appointment of an agent at that time, even if inserted in an aid bill, was not inconsistent with the services of the Crown. An address was presented to Dobbs in which these resolutions were reiter-

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<sup>32</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 477.

<sup>33</sup> Col. Rec., VI, ix-x.

<sup>34</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 463.

<sup>35</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 515.



ated and in which the house stated that its members regretted that the governor's private resentment against whomever it named as agent should frustrate all efforts to unite with Virginia and South Carolina in an attack upon the Cherokees. The house refused to strike Bacon's name out of the bill.<sup>36</sup> The bill was re-introduced and passed the third reading in each house, but did not become law because Dobbs dissolved the Assembly before it was presented for his approval.<sup>37</sup> The dangers of an Indian invasion had ceased by this time.<sup>38</sup>

The new Assembly convened at Wilmington in March, 1761, and upbraided the governor for his defeat of the aid bill and for not calling the Assembly to meet at a more convenient place.<sup>39</sup> Both sides, however, were now willing to yield something in order to accomplish their respective ends.

A bill appropriating 20,000£, proclamation money, for the enlistment and support of five hundred soldiers and naming Cuchet Jouvencal, of Westminster, England, agent was passed. John Swann, Lewis deRossett, and Maurice Moore, of the council, and Samuel Swann, John Ashe, John Starkey, Cornelius Harnett and Francis Corbin, of the house, were appointed to constitute the committee of correspondence.<sup>40</sup> The house refrained from selecting Bacon merely to obtain the assent of the governor.<sup>41</sup> The council advised Dobbs to assent to the act and having done so, the governor dissolved the Assembly.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile the Board of Trade informed Dobbs that he had no right to interfere in the nomination of an agent by the Assembly and that although naming an agent in the aid bill which he had rejected at the last session was irregular, the necessity of the times rendered the irregularity too trivial a reason for rejecting a law which would have been beneficial to the Crown and to the province.<sup>43</sup>

Sir Matthew Lamb, Reporting Counsel to the Board, criticised

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<sup>36</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 515-517.

<sup>37</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 518-519.

<sup>38</sup> Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 301.

<sup>39</sup> Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 302.

<sup>40</sup> State Rec., XXIII, 539-541.

<sup>41</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 692.

<sup>42</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 633-634, 694.

<sup>43</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 539.

the tacking on to the aid bill of the clauses nominating Jouvencal agent as being irregular.<sup>44</sup> Thereupon the Board instructed Dobbs to recommend the appointment of an agent in a separate bill when Jouvencal's term should expire.<sup>45</sup>

At the session early in 1764, John Starkey introduced a bill to continue the agency of Jouvencal for eighteen months, but the quarrel between the two houses concerning the membership of the correspondence committee caused the failure of the measure.<sup>46</sup> By their own authority the house appointed Jouvencal its agent and named as committee of correspondence John Ashe, John Starkey, Cornelius Harnett, Francis Corbin and Maurice Moore.<sup>47</sup>

Later in the year the Assembly made another effort to have an agent appointed with the concurrence of the governor and council. Thomas Barker, an eminent resident of the colony, was chosen by the house, but the council substituted another person in his place.<sup>48</sup> When the lower house reinserted the name of Thomas Barker in the bill, the council rejected it.<sup>49</sup> The Assembly took vengeance on the council by refusing to appropriate 1,000£ to pay Samuel Smith who had been named as agent of the province by the governor and the council in 1759. The house correctly decided that Smith had never been the agent of the province.<sup>50</sup>

The inability of the different branches of the government to agree upon the choice of an agent had already worked much woe to the affairs of the province before the governmental authorities of England. The council and the governor were in the wrong, for the Board of Trade had declared that the power of naming an agent was vested in the Assembly. It seems that the Board of Trade recognized the agents appointed solely by the house during the time of the quarrel.

In May, 1765, the house refused to submit to the council the

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<sup>44</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 748.

<sup>45</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 702-703.

<sup>46</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 1134, 1136, 1137, 1214.

<sup>47</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 1214.

<sup>48</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 1287-1288.

<sup>49</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 1240.

<sup>50</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 1251-1252, 1313, 1316-1317.

letters and papers which it had received from Jouvencal since the last sitting of the legislature. Governor Tryon wrote the Board of Trade that the Assembly's agent ought not to be recognized by the Board unless the house would permit some members of the council to serve on the correspondence committee.<sup>51</sup>

The Assembly continued the agency of Jouvencal for one year.<sup>52</sup> The Board of Trade accepted Tryon's advice and no member of the council having been placed upon the committee of correspondence, refused to recognize the agent. No agent was appointed from this time until 1768.<sup>53</sup>

The gist of the quarrel was that the council denied the Assembly the right of naming the agent, while the house refused to allow the council a proper share in the committee of correspondence.

In 1767, Henry Eustace McCulloch, a member of the council then residing in England, offered his services as agent to the colony.<sup>54</sup>

An attempt to elect an agent early in the following year failed.<sup>55</sup>

Towards the end of the year, the house, by a resolve appointed McCulloch agent with John Harvey, Joseph Montfort, Samuel Johnston, Joseph Hewes and Edward Vail as the correspondence committee.<sup>56</sup>

Parliament having adopted the plan of taxing the colonies to help raise funds to pay the war debt, the Assembly drew up an address protesting against such taxation. In writing to McCulloch, the committee of correspondence characterized Parliamentary taxation as "totally unconstitutional and destructive of the natural right of mankind." McCulloch was instructed to assure the king, the ministry and Englishmen in general of the loyalty of North Carolina to the Crown, to present the address of the Assembly to the king, to cooperate with the agents of other

<sup>51</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 107.

<sup>52</sup> Col. Rec., VI, 60, 87.

<sup>53</sup> Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 312.

<sup>54</sup> Col. Rec., VII, 517-518.

<sup>55</sup> Col. Rec., VII, 641.

<sup>56</sup> Col. Rec., VII, 973.

colonies in obtaining the repeal of the act imposing internal taxes on America and to work for the repeal of the law of Parliament which forbade the colonies to issue paper money.<sup>57</sup> Samuel Johnston considered the address too submissive and with Joseph Hewes declined to serve on the committee of correspondence.<sup>58</sup>

The dissatisfaction among the people on the frontier of the province resulted in the formation of the Regulation movement. In October, 1769, in a petition to the legislature setting forth their grievances, the Regulators of Anson County asked that "Doctor Benjamin Franklin or some other known patriot" be appointed agent of the colony in England.<sup>59</sup>

McCulloch informed the Assembly that its address had reached its destination and that he would gladly carry out the instructions given him.<sup>60</sup>

Tryon was authorized to sanction the appointment of an agent elected by both houses to represent the affairs of the province before the authorities in England. The critical relations subsisting between the colonies and the mother country rendered it necessary that an agent should be appointed in such a manner as to give him unmistakable authority. Otherwise, the interests of the colony would be doomed to delay and disappointment.<sup>61</sup>

In the autumn of 1769, the two houses appointed H. E. McCulloch agent for a term of two years with an annual salary of 200£ sterling. Lewis Henry de Rossett, Alexander McCulloch and Robert Palmer, of the council, and John Harvey, Joseph Montfort, Edward Vail, John Campbell and Benjamin Harvey, of the house, were selected as the committee of correspondence.<sup>62</sup> Tryon approved the act.<sup>63</sup>

Late in 1771, McCulloch was re-appointed for an additional term of two years and the committee of correspondence was com-

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<sup>57</sup> Col. Rec., VII, 877-879.

<sup>58</sup> Ashe, Hist. of N. C., 347-348.

<sup>59</sup> Col. Rec., VIII, 78.

<sup>60</sup> Col. Rec., VIII, 55-57.

<sup>61</sup> Col. Rec., VII, 868.

<sup>62</sup> State Rec., XXV, 518.

<sup>63</sup> Col. Rec., VIII, 151.

posed of members from both houses.<sup>64</sup> McCulloch was the last agent to represent the colony in the mother country. Being familiar with the situation in the province and in England, he was well qualified to render the colony much service. This he did.

As we have seen, the office of agent was of vast importance and responsibility. The constant bickering between the lower house and the governor and between the house and the council resulted in much loss and damage to the interests of the province in England.

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<sup>64</sup> State Rec., XXIII, 854.









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THE FREE NEGRO IN NORTH  
CAROLINA

BY

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# THE FREE NEGRO IN NORTH CAROLINA<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

The most pathetic figure in North Carolina prior to the Civil War was the free negro. Hedged about with social and legal restrictions, he ever remained an anomaly in the social and political life of the State.

The origin of this class of people may be attributed to many sources, the most common of which are (1) cohabitation of white women and negro men, (2) intermarriage of blacks and whites, (3) manumission, (4) military service in the Revolution, and (5) immigration from adjoining States. As early as 1723<sup>2</sup> many free negroes, mulattoes and persons of mixed blood had moved into the Province and had intermarried with the white inhabitants "in contempt of the acts and laws in those cases provided." In the year 1715 in order to discourage intermarriage between white women and negro men, a penalty of £50 was imposed upon the contracting parties, while clergymen and justices of peace were forbidden to celebrate such marriage under a like penalty.<sup>3</sup> However regrettable it may be, it is certain that there were a few disreputable white women who had illegitimate children by negro men, and such children inherited the legal status of the mother. The laws of 1715<sup>4</sup> take cognizance of this fact by imposing a penalty on any white woman "whether bond or free", who shall have a bastard child by any negro, mulatto or Indian.

Probably the most fruitful origin of the free negro class was manumission. While it is doubtful whether many slaves were set free prior to 1740, it is certain that the Quakers in their Yearly Meeting began to agitate the question of emanci-

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<sup>1</sup>This paper was prepared as a thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of North Carolina.

<sup>2</sup>*State Records*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 106-107. Hereafter the Colonial Records and State Records will be referred to as "C. R.", and "S. R."

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

pating slaves in that year,<sup>5</sup> and they never ceased to advocate emancipation both by precept and example.

The free negro class was slightly augmented by the addition of certain negroes who had served in the continental line of the State during the Revolutionary War, many of whom had been promised their freedom before they enlisted. It was easy in such cases to allege meritorious service as a ground for emancipation. To the before-mentioned causes for the existence of the free negro in North Carolina should be added one other; namely, immigration, particularly from Virginia. Despite the law to the contrary, many free negroes drifted across the State line from Virginia into North Carolina and quietly settled on the unproductive land adjacent thereto.<sup>6</sup>

In every instance except one (service in the Revolution) the free negro came into being against the will of the State either expressed or implied; but once given a place in the social order of the commonwealth, his tribe increased in spite of adverse laws and customs prescribed by the dominant race.

## MANUMISSION

It has been previously noted that manumission does not appear to have been a well-established practice before 1741; however the practice was not unknown to the early planters. In the laws of 1723<sup>7</sup> complaint was made that the law which required all free negroes to leave the State within six months after being set free had been disregarded by the negroes, who returned after a time. In order to discourage their return to the State, the law specifically stated that all such free negroes returned contrary to law should be arrested and sold into slavery for seven years,<sup>8</sup> and the sale repeated in case the negro returned a second time. One may readily infer from the very language of the act that it was "obeyed but not executed." That provision of the law which required all free negroes to leave the State within six months after being liberated does not occur in the laws of 1741

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<sup>5</sup> Negro Year Book, 1913.

<sup>6</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 639.

<sup>7</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1886.

<sup>8</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 23, pp. 106-107.

—a fact that would seem to indicate that the law continued to be disregarded.

Prior to 1741 a master could renounce ownership of his slave without leave of court, and according to an opinion rendered by Justice Ruffin in the case of Sampson vs. Burgwin<sup>9</sup> he could probably do so until 1796; however such a renunciation on the part of a slave owner was equivalent to a forfeiture of the slave to the public, which in turn might seize him and sell him into slavery.

The law of 1741, which is the first comprehensive statute on the subject of emancipation, was probably enacted as a safeguard against promiscuous emancipation of slaves by the Quakers. By virtue of this law<sup>10</sup> no negro or mulatto slave could be set free on any pretense whatever, "except for meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed of by the county court, and license therefrom first had and obtained."<sup>11</sup> For the first time since the element of meritorious service enters into the law as a determining factor in emancipation. By reason of the fact that the law of 1741 was flagrantly violated by certain Quakers in Perquimans and Pasquotank counties, it was reaffirmed by the General Assembly of 1777.

During the latter part of the year 1726 the Quakers, already restive under the restrictions of the law regarding the emancipation of slaves, took advantage of the uncertainty of the times to set free a number of slaves in the counties of Perquimans and Pasquotank.<sup>12</sup> These illegally-emancipated slaves were promptly seized and sold into slavery, whereupon the Quakers brought suit in the Superior Court of the Edenton District for the purpose of testing the legality of the seizure and sale of the negroes. The Superior Court held that the slaves had been unlawfully deprived of their liberties, and as a result of the decision of the Court many of the negroes, in question, were again set at liberty.<sup>13</sup> In order to silence any further contro-

<sup>9</sup> 20 N. C., 21.

<sup>10</sup> *Revisal of 1804*, ch. 24, p. 66.

<sup>11</sup> Weeks' *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 209-210.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Remarks on Slavery*, by John Parrish, p. 210 (Weeks Collection).

versy, the legislature of 1779 passed a law confirming the sale of illegally-liberated slaves.<sup>14</sup>

The Quakers were ever the unrelenting foes of slavery and they never lost an opportunity to impress upon the people of the State their conception of the iniquity of slave holding. They petitioned the legislature in 1790 to the end that the law of 1741 be repealed and an act passed "whereby the free citizens of this State, who are conscientiously scrupulous of holding slaves may legally emancipate them, etc.."<sup>15</sup>

Due probably to the Santo Domingo revolt in 1791, a law was passed requiring any and all free persons of color who "shall come into this State by land or water or shall hereafter be emancipated" to give bond in the sum of £200, such bond to be held as surety for the good behavior of the sojourning negro.<sup>16</sup>

Emancipation came to be quite onerous in 1801, when the legislature passed a law<sup>17</sup> placing a further restriction on emancipators by requiring them to enter into bond "in the sum of £100 for each slave so liberated." Undoubtedly the law was disregarded in a great many instances. For example, we find in the case of Sampson vs. Burgwin<sup>18</sup> that a county court emancipated a slave notwithstanding the fact that meritorious service was not alleged. The Supreme Court held that an emancipation of that kind was valid because the county court had exclusive jurisdiction. Justice Ruffin observes in the case of Sampson vs. Burgwin that the non-enforcement of the law by the county courts probably resulted in a transference of their jurisdiction over the matter of emancipation to the Superior Courts in 1830.

The act of 1796 did not require a petition in writing in order to emancipate<sup>19</sup>; accordingly a free negro could not always show conclusively that he had been legally set free. The Supreme Court, however, consistently held the opinion that where the people had quietly permitted a negro to enjoy his or her freedom

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<sup>14</sup> Weeks' *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 210.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>16</sup> Martin's *Revisal*, ch. 16, p. 79.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 20, p. 179.

<sup>18</sup> 20 N. C., 21.

<sup>19</sup> Stringer vs. Burcham, 34 N. C., 43.

for a number of years "every presumption is to be made in favor of his or her actual emancipation."<sup>20</sup>

From 1801 to 1828, notwithstanding the constant fear of a negro insurrection, the active work of the American Colonization Society and the persistent efforts of the Quakers to secure more lenient emancipation laws, there was a period of comparative legislative inactivity with reference to the free negro. In fact, during this period there was considerable sentiment in the State favoring the liberation of slaves, thanks to the work of the Colonization Society and the North Carolina Manumission Society.

The North Carolina Manumission Society was organized by the Quakers of Guilford, Chatham and Randolph counties in 1816, and remained in existence for more than twenty years; however it did its most efficient work and had its largest membership between the years 1825-1830. Among other things, it investigated cases of kidnapping, helped to raise the necessary money for purchasing slaves, and used its influence to obtain more lenient emancipation laws.<sup>21</sup> The Manumission Society was very active in sending slaves to free territory to be set free. In 1826 two boat loads of negro slaves were sent to Africa<sup>22</sup> and in 1828 the Society sent 119 negroes to Haiti. So many negro slaves were sent to Illinois and Indiana by the Manumission Society that these States became alarmed and enacted very stringent laws against admitting free negroes.<sup>23</sup>

Another interesting feature of the benevolent work of the Quakers deserves special mention. On account of the rigidity of the emancipation laws, the Quakers devised a scheme by which "Certain parties were authorized to act as agents and receive certain consignments of slaves from masters who wished to be rid of them."<sup>24</sup> While these slaves were under the tutelage of the Quakers they were virtually, though not nominally free. They were held ostensibly for the purpose of being transported to

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<sup>20</sup> *Stringer vs. Burcham*, 34 N. C., 43.

<sup>21</sup> *Trinity Historical Papers*, Vol. 10, p. 48.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> *Weeks' Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 232.

<sup>24</sup> *Trinity Historical Papers*, Vol. 10, p. 37.



free territory and there set free. In 1826 the Quakers were caring for 600 slaves.<sup>25</sup> From 1825 to 1830 the slave holders of North Carolina placed in the hands of Quakers hundreds of slaves on condition of their removal to Liberia.<sup>26</sup> Much of this work, however, was undertaken in conjunction with the American Colonization Society.

The Supreme Court held in the case of Trustees vs. Dickenson<sup>27</sup> that the trustees of "the Religious Society and Congregation, usually known by the name of Quakers", had a right to receive and hold property for its own benefit, but it could not hold property in trust for another. The Court held that nothing was wanting to make the condition under which Quakers held slaves complete emancipation except the name. This decision was rendered in 1827 and did much to interrupt the work of the Religious Society and Congregation of the Friends in their efforts to abolish slavery.

One would not be justified in assuming that the numerous negro insurrections in Virginia and South Carolina were primarily responsible for the legislative enactment concerning free negroes in 1830; nevertheless these outbreaks on the part of the negroes, no doubt, influenced the action of the legislature. It is more reasonable to suppose that the abolition movement which reached the State certainly by 1830<sup>28</sup> was a more direct cause. There is a popular conception abroad that the Southampton Rebellion in Virginia was largely responsible for the stringent anti-free negro legislation of the year 1830. Strangely enough, the negro uprising in Sampson and Duplin counties took place in 1831,<sup>29</sup> and the Southampton Rebellion occurred in the same year. The Southampton Rebellion marks a pronounced change in the policy of Virginia towards the free negro,<sup>30</sup> but so far as is ascertainable, only one law of any importance (that which forbade negroes to preach)<sup>31</sup> was enacted in North Carolina as a direct consequence of the Southampton Rebellion.

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<sup>25</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1886.

<sup>26</sup> 12 N. C., 190.

<sup>27</sup> *Johns Hopkins Studies*, Vol. 27, p. 189.

<sup>28</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1886.

<sup>29</sup> *Tarborough Free Press*, Sept. 20, 1831.

<sup>30</sup> *Johns Hopkins Studies*, Vol. 31, p. 452.

<sup>31</sup> *Revisal of 1855*, ch. 107, p. 576.



As 1832 marks the turning point in Virginia's policy towards the free persons of color, just so the year 1830 marks the beginning of a pronounced change of policy in North Carolina. Sweeping aside all laws and clauses of laws to the contrary, the legislature of 1830 passed a law, which on account of its significance is, I quoted, verbatim:

“Any inhabitant of this State desirous of emancipating a slave shall file a petition in writing with the Superior Court, setting forth name, sex and age of said slave and praying permission to emancipate. The Court shall grant permission on the following conditions: Petitioner shall show that he gave public notice of his intended action six weeks prior in the State Gazette and at county courthouse. Petitioner shall enter into bond with two good securities payable to State of North Carolina in the sum of \$1,000 for each slave.”<sup>32</sup>

The bond, of course, was required for the good conduct of the slaves as long as they remained in the State, and to insure their departure from the State within ninety days after emancipation became effective, never to return.<sup>33</sup> On the same terms any person could emancipate his or her slaves by will.<sup>34</sup>

It is further provided (Sec. 4) that any one could lawfully emancipate any slave over fifty years of age upon petition filed and order of the Superior Court, by satisfying the Court that said slave had performed meritorious services and giving bond in the sum of \$500. In all cases if an emancipated slave returned to the State he could be arrested and sold, or if he failed to leave the State the same fate awaited him. Action could also be brought against the bond of the emancipator and the recovery applied to the support of the poor.<sup>35</sup> The claims of creditors had to be satisfied before emancipation was complete, since no emancipation could work to invalidate such claims. This law remained in force until the actual emancipation of all slaves in North Carolina took place; however at least one of its most drastic features was frequently evaded, as I shall take occasion to show later.

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<sup>32</sup> *Revisal of 1837*, ch. 111, p. 585.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 111, p. 585.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 111, p. 585.

<sup>35</sup> *Revisal of 1837*, ch. 111, p. 586.

The law of 1830 makes three notable changes in the old process of emancipation: (1) the substitution of perpetual exile for meritorious service for all slaves under the age of fifty years, (2) the requirement of a written petition, and (3) a transfer of jurisdiction from the county courts to the Superior Courts of the State. Despite the apparent severity of the law governing manumission Booker T. Washington in his book, "The Story of the Negro", says that the conditions and laws relative to the Negro in North Carolina were more lenient than those of any other Southern State. With the exception of a law passed in 1861 which forbade the emancipation of slaves by will<sup>36</sup> there was no further legislation in North Carolina with reference to the emancipation of slaves.

We thus see that the State discouraged the practice of manumitting slaves by making it both expensive and troublesome. The only way out of the difficulty was to send slaves out of the State to be set free. Such action was perfectly legitimate, provided the act was done with the bona fide intention that they should remain out of the State,<sup>37</sup> and in the case of Redding vs. Long<sup>38</sup> the Court held that "a deed conveying slaves to one in trust for the grantor during her life and then to send them to Liberia or some other free State . . . after grantor's death is not against the provisions or policy of our statutes on the subject of slavery."

Occasionally the legislature assumed the responsibility of emancipating certain slaves,<sup>39</sup> but aside from the regular, voluntary method of setting slaves free without remuneration, many negroes bought their freedom for a specified sum of money. It frequently happened that an especially industrious and ambitious negro slave hired his time of his master for a stipulated amount of money, and all he made in excess of that amount was set aside as a redemption fund. Lunsford Lane brought his freedom in this manner.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, Session 1860-61, ch. 36, p. 69.

<sup>37</sup> *Green vs. Long*, 43 N. C., 70.

<sup>38</sup> *34 Jones Equity*, 216.

<sup>39</sup> *Laws*, 1854-55, ch. 108, pp. 89-90.

<sup>40</sup> *Hawkins, Life of Lunsford Lane*.

It seems to be a demonstrable fact that when a slave owner voluntarily set his slaves free without remuneration, they were usually sent to free territory but instances can be multiplied of negroes who bought their freedom and remained in the State, the law to the contrary notwithstanding. Sam Morphis, a free negro of Chapel Hill, who earned his living by driving a hack, bought his freedom and continued to live in Chapel Hill.<sup>41</sup> Dave Moore, another slave, bought his freedom and remained at Chapel Hill.<sup>42</sup> Thomas Gosset, a slave blacksmith of Guilford county, bought his freedom of his master about the year 1850 and remained on the same plantation.<sup>43</sup> It was not an uncommon thing for a negro slave to buy his own freedom and then bargain for and procure the freedom of his wife and children by the labor of his hands.

### POLITICAL RIGHTS

As Judge Gaston pointed out, in the celebrated case of *State vs. Manuel*<sup>44</sup>, that under the British Colonial Government in Carolina there were only two classes of people recognized by the law; namely, citizens and aliens. It necessarily followed that the native-born free negro was by the principle of *jus soli* a native-born citizen of the State. The fact that he was a citizen, however, did not necessarily entitle him to exercise the privilege of the franchise except by sufferance on the part of the dominant race. While political discrimination against the free person of color during pre-revolutionary times was not so pronounced as it was in 1835, we find very little evidence which tends to show that the free negroes and mulattoes voted to any considerable extent prior to the Revolutionary War.

In the instructions of the Proprietors to the Governor of the Province in 1667, he was ordered to hold an election in which all freemen should help to choose members of the Assembly. This order on the part of the Proprietors was modified in 1734<sup>45</sup> so that none but free holders could vote; but not until 1760 was

<sup>41</sup> Information from Mr. John Huskey, an old citizen of Chapel Hill.

<sup>42</sup> This was also told me by Mr. Huskey.

<sup>43</sup> J. J. Brittain, Box 144, Salem Station, Winston-Salem, N. C.

<sup>44</sup> 20 N. C., 144.

<sup>45</sup> C. R., Vol. I, p. 167.

a free holder defined.<sup>46</sup> In that year a freeholder was defined to be a person "who bona fide, hath an estate real for his own life-time or for the life of another, etc." The prescription of the property qualification for voting served to deprive the indigent free negro of the franchise. One would hardly feel safe in saying that the free person of color voted regularly prior to 1760. In a petition of the colonists to the crown in 1703<sup>47</sup> it was recited that in the election to choose members of the General Assembly "all sorts of people, even servants, negroes, aliens, Jews and common sailors were admitted to vote in elections." In regard to this election, it is said that "it was conducted with very great partiality and injustice,"—the inference being that it was an uncommon occurrence for negroes to vote.

The framers of our State Constitution of 1776, imbued with exalted notions concerning the rights of man, provided that every freeman with a freehold of fifty acres could vote for members of the State Senate, and that every freeman who had paid public taxes could vote for members of the House of Commons. Of course, under the terms of this section of the Constitution a free negro was entitled to vote; but it is hardly fair to assume that the framers of the Constitution were especially solicitous concerning the political privileges of the free negro when they gave the ballot to all freemen.

Notwithstanding the fact that the negro vote in the State was practically negligible except in a few counties, such as Halifax,<sup>48</sup> white people came more and more to resent the participation of the free negroes in politics. They had been disfranchised in the neighboring States, Virginia having disfranchised her free negroes in 1723<sup>49</sup>; consequently North Carolina in 1835 was the only one of the slaveholding states that allowed the free negro to exercise the franchise. Lacking in intelligence and correspondingly venal, the free negro's support of any aspirant for political office finally came to be regarded as a sort of reproach to the candidate.<sup>50</sup> It was asserted in the Con-

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 639.

<sup>48</sup> *Political Science Quarterly*, Dec., 1894, p. 626.

<sup>49</sup> *Johns Hopkins Studies*, Vol. 31, p. 418.

<sup>50</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1886.

vention of 1835 that the negro vote could be bought with "a little to drink . . . like a lot of poultry."<sup>51</sup> It is claimed that the free negroes lost the franchise in Granville county by persistently supporting Robert Potter. Robert Potter was a notorious politician who later disgraced himself by committing "a brutal mayhem upon two of his wife's relatives."<sup>52</sup>

Indicative of the general attitude of the white people toward the negro is an act of the legislature of 1832,—“an act to vest the right of electing the clerks of the County and Superior Courts in the several counties in this State in the free white men thereof.”<sup>53</sup> No mention is made of the free negro as being a qualified voter in this election.

In 1835 there were 300 colored voters in Halifax county, 150 in Hertford, 50 in Chowan, and 75 in Pasquotank.<sup>54</sup> Of course, there were colored voters in many other counties of the State; however the free negro was not a regular voter in many western counties, notably Iredell. Mr. King, of Iredell, could not recall that a free negro had ever voted in his county.<sup>55</sup>

Many broad-minded men in the Convention saw and pointed out the injustice of depriving the free negro of the franchise when “he possessed the same property and other qualifications required of other citizens,”<sup>56</sup> and to correct this injustice amendments were offered which excepted the property-owning class from the general operation of the law disfranchising free negroes. The amendments were defeated by a small majority. In the main, we may say that the colored voter was disfranchised on grounds of expedience rather than upon the grounds of abstract right.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

Before the establishment of an independent state government in 1776, not many laws were enacted which abridged the civil rights of the free negro. As a British subject he was required to pay the same tithes as the other inhabitants of the

<sup>51</sup> *Debates in Convention*, 1835.

<sup>52</sup> Wheeler, *Reminiscences*, p. 184.

<sup>53</sup> Hoke vs. Henderson, 15 N. C., 1.

<sup>54</sup> *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1894, p. 676.

<sup>55</sup> *Debates in Convention*, 1835, p. 353.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 356.



Province.<sup>57</sup> In 1746 "all negroes and mulattoes bond and free to the third generation (extended to the fourth in 1776) were disqualified to appear as witnesses in any cause whatsoever, except against each other."<sup>58</sup> This law was never repealed. While the law protected a white man against one of the fatal weaknesses of the negro mendacity, it undoubtedly gave to white people an undue advantage over their incompetent neighbor, the free negroes.

About 1787 a series of laws were enacted regulating the conduct of free persons of color. For instance, they were forbidden to trade with slaves in property of any kind<sup>59</sup> under penalty of £10 or three months in prison, they were forbidden to entertain any slave in their houses during the Sabbath or between sunrise and sunset,<sup>60</sup> and in the towns of Wilmington, Washington, Edenton and Fayetteville free negroes were required to wear a badge of cloth on the left shoulder, "and written thereon the word 'Free' ". In addition they had to register with the town clerk and pay a fee of ten shillings three days after arrival in these towns.<sup>61</sup> These laws were passed for the purpose of preventing free negroes from harboring runaway slaves, and from receiving stolen goods from slaves.

The first law making it a criminal offense to bring slaves into the State from a State which had already liberated its slaves was enacted 1786.<sup>62</sup> The law fixed a penalty of £50 for each slave brought in, such fine to take the form of a bond as security for the removal of said slave to the place from whence he came. A similar law was passed in 1826,<sup>63</sup> by virtue of which a free negro was forbidden to enter the State of his own accord under penalty of \$500 or a period of ten years in servitude. A period of twenty days was given the intruder in which to leave the State. This law was passed upon recommendation of Governor Gabriel Holmes, who became alarmed at the return of a large of free negroes from Haiti, at which

<sup>57</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 262.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 262.

<sup>59</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 956.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 891.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 728-729.

<sup>62</sup> *Martin's Revisal*, ch. 6, p. 414.

<sup>63</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, Session of 1828-29, ch. 34, p. 21.



place they had become inoculated with ideas of freedom. The Virginia legislature passed a law in 1806, banishing all free negroes thereafter set free,<sup>64</sup> many of whom came to North Carolina; however no action was taken at that time to prevent the free negroes from Virginia from entering the State. In order to protect the free negro in the enjoyment of his liberty, the State legislature made the act of kidnapping and selling a free negro into slavery in another state a capital offense without benefit of clergy,<sup>65</sup> but on account of the law which forbade a negro to testify against a white man, it was frequently difficult to prove a man guilty of kidnapping. A rather singular feature of the law was that the penalty for stealing and selling a free negro within the bounds of the State could not exceed a fine of \$1,000 or imprisonment for more than 18 months.

The legislature of 1830, not satisfied with the task of making manumission more difficult, proceeded to restrict the movements of those negroes already free by ordering that no free negro could return to this state after being absent for a period of ninety days or more.<sup>66</sup> Provision was made for providential hindrance. This law served a double purpose; namely, it was a means of getting rid of an undesirable element of the population, and in the second place it prevented the dissemination of radical ideas concerning freedom which itinerant negroes might bring back from the North by reason of having come in contact with abolitionists.

For the purpose of protecting a free person of color in the enjoyment of his property, the legislature extended the law respecting insolvent debtors to free persons of color.<sup>67</sup> This law was repealed in 1841.<sup>68</sup> In the same year (1841) the rating of a free negro with respect to citizenship was further discounted by the enactment of a law which excluded him from the ranks of the State militia except in the capacity of musician.<sup>69</sup> A rather singular situation prevailed. Here was a

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<sup>64</sup> *Johns Hopkins Studies*, Vol. 31, p. 418.

<sup>65</sup> *Martin's Revisal*, ch. 11, Laws of 1779.

<sup>66</sup> *Revisal of 1837*, ch. 34, p. 208.

<sup>67</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, Session of 1841, ch. 30, p. 61.

<sup>68</sup> *Revisal of 1855*, ch. 802, p. 1196.

<sup>69</sup> *Revisal of 1855*, ch. 828, p. 1218.

class of people who paid public taxes and voted, but were not allowed to bear arms in defense of their State.

On account of the difficulty of collecting taxes from many free negroes, due to the fact that they had very little property which could be levied on, the General Assembly in 1828 required a person on whose land free negroes resided to "pay a poll tax on the same residing there with their consent."<sup>70</sup> By act of the legislature of 1831, when a free person of color was convicted of a criminal offense and was unable to pay the fine, he should be hired out to any person who would pay the fine in exchange for the negro's services for the shortest length of time—not to exceed five years.<sup>71</sup>

In 1838 for the first time in the history of North Carolina the constitutionality of one of the special laws applicable to a particular class of so-called citizens was tested in the case of *State vs. Manuel*.<sup>72</sup> Manuel, a free negro of Sampson county, was convicted of assault and battery and fined \$20.00 by the court. Upon declaring his inability to pay the fine, he was sentenced to be hired out according to law; whereupon he took an appeal to the Supreme Court of North Carolina. Judge Gaston in a lengthy and able opinion stated two important principles: (1) that the free person of color was a citizen of North Carolina, and (2) that the law requiring free negroes to be hired out in certain cases was constitutional. It had been argued with much show of reason in the Convention of 1835 that the free negro was not a citizen, mainly for the reason that he was not free to move from State to State. Setting aside this argument, Judge Gaston demonstrated that the right of suffrage did not necessarily accompany citizenship. After postulating that "all free persons born within the State are born citizens of the State," he proceeded to show that the removal of the disability of slavery would automatically work to make a citizen of a slave born within the State. He justified the unusual mode of punishment prescribed for a particular class of citizens on the ground that the legislation was given a large grant of power in the suppression of crime, and by reason of this fact it could

<sup>70</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, Session 1828-29, ch. 34, p. 21.

<sup>71</sup> *Revisal of 1837*, ch. 111, pp. 591-592.

<sup>72</sup> 20 N. C., 144.

discriminate as between different classes of citizens, for what would constitute a punishment for one class of citizens might not be a punishment for another.

On the case of *State vs. Newson*<sup>73</sup> which was decided in 1844, the constitutionality of the law forbidding free negroes to own or carry weapons was tested. Judge Nash, who rendered the opinion of the Court, took occasion to refer to the case of *State vs. Manuel*, saying in part, that the hiring out of free negroes introduced a different mode of punishment in the case of a colored man and a white man for the same offense, thereby inferring that such punishment was in contravention of the third article of our State Constitution, which forbids the granting of "exclusive or separate emolument . . . but in consideration of public services." In concluding his opinion he justified the discriminating character of the laws addressed to the free negro by saying that they "are not to be considered citizens in the largest sense of the word."

Notice has been taken of the fact that a quietus was put on negro preachers in 1831. The rights of the free person of color were further circumscribed during the forties. For example, it was made unlawful to sell spiritous liquors to such people, except on prescription of practicing physicians for medicinal purposes.<sup>74</sup> The marriage of a free negro and a slave was absolutely prohibited by law,<sup>75</sup> and a free negro was not allowed to bear arms or to have weapons in his possession unless he had a license from the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions.<sup>76</sup> However restrictive this legislation may appear, it is not comparable to many laws on the same subject enacted in Virginia. Free negroes could not own slaves in North Carolina until 1861.<sup>77</sup> They were not only forbidden to own a gun in Virginia, but they were likewise forbidden to own a dog.<sup>78</sup> After 1832 free negroes were not allowed benefit or trial by jury in Virginia, while in North Carolina this fundamental right was never abridged.

<sup>73</sup> 27 N. C., 250.

<sup>74</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, Session 1858-59, ch. 31ff p. 71.

<sup>75</sup> *Revisal of 1855*, ch. 107, p. 577.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 107, p. 577.

<sup>77</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, Session 1860-61, ch. 37, p. 69.

<sup>78</sup> *Johns Hopkins Studies*, Vol. 31, p. 418.

One might seriously inquire as to what remained of the civil rights of the hybrid citizen, known in legal parlance as the free person of color, save the right of trial by jury, road duty, and the poll tax requirement. In answer to this inquiry, I quote a portion of Governor Graham's letter to Holderby written in 1866:

Free negroes have always been regarded as freemen in North Carolina, and as such, entitled to the privilege of habeas corpus, trial by jury, ownership of property, even slaves, to prosecute and defend suits in courts of justice . . . and to prove by their own oath, even against white men accounts to the amount of sixty dollars for work and labor done on goods sold under the Book Debit Law.<sup>79</sup>

To the foregoing let me add an excerpt from Governor Worth's message to the General Assembly in 1866:

Such rights as were accorded to the free colored people of North Carolina were ever most scrupulously observed and maintained. For ages it had been a most ignominious offense to kidnap . . . or to endeavor to enslave a person of African descent who was free. . . . In all criminal accusations tried by jury, he was allowed the rights of challenge and other safeguards of the common law. Property was acquired and held by them with all the privileges of transfer, devise and descent.<sup>80</sup>

After all has been said, the lot of the free negro in North Carolina was a hard one. He had very little to strive for—no high and worthy goal spurred his ambition. The avenues of opportunity were closed by legal and social restrictions; consequently he passed among the white people for a sort of worthless incubus on society. Had the old slavery regime survived a few years longer it is probable that all the free negroes would have been compelled to leave the State, or at least an attempt to expel them would have been made. During the session of the legislature of 1858-59 two bills, one originating in the House and the other in the Senate, were introduced, providing for the removal from the State of all free persons of color by January 1, 1860, or the enslavement of those who remained.

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<sup>79</sup> *The Daily Sentinel*, February 8, 1866.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, January 20, 1866.

<sup>81</sup> Bills found in the Weeks Collection, U. N. C. Library.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

[Socially the free negro was supposed to take a little higher rank than the slave; however not every slave would acknowledge the social supremacy of his free brother.] The attitude of envy and sometimes of contempt for the "old issue," as the free negro was commonly called, was probably encouraged by the slave owners, who wished to discourage the association of the two classes of negroes. It has already been noted that free negroes were finally absolutely forbidden to marry slaves, and amongst other laws designed to prevent a too great intimacy between free negroes and slaves, there was one which forbade them to gamble with one another.<sup>82</sup> In spite of the laws designed to prevent social intercourse between the two classes of negroes, there was a great deal of clandestine association, especially in the towns. Mr. John Huskey, an old citizen of Chapel Hill, recalls the time when the magistrate's court in Chapel Hill was crowded with offenders against the gambling law.<sup>83</sup> It was a common occurrence on Monday morning to see a group of these offenders led out into the bushes and there given thirty-nine lashes. The relation between free negroes and slaves was probably more cordial in the towns than in the country. Occasionally a free negro married a slave, and, indeed, a slave wife was often preferred on account of the fact that she was supported by her master.

Free negroes and white people were, of course, forbidden to marry on any terms;<sup>84</sup> at the same time there are many well-known instances of illicit cohabitation between free negro men and white women. O. W. Blacknall tells the story<sup>85</sup> of a white woman in Granville county who contrived to circumvent the law prohibiting her marriage to her negro lover by having a portion of his blood injected into her veins. She could then swear that she had negro blood in her veins. The free negro women, especially the single ones, were mercenary, and the fact that 55% of the free negro population of North Carolina in

<sup>82</sup> *Revisal of 1837*, ch. 111, p. 590.

<sup>83</sup> A considerable number of free negroes lived in the town of Chapel Hill.

<sup>84</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, Session 1830-31, ch. 4, p. 9.

<sup>85</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1886.



1860 consisted of mulattoes<sup>86</sup> is very good evidence that the moral standard of many white men was decidedly low.

The poor white man was ever an object of contempt in the sight of the free negro. "Big white folks are all right, but poor white folks ain't no better than us niggers." Such was the general opinion the colored citizen held of his indigent white neighbor.

As a rule, the Quakers were much more cordial in their relations with the free people of color than was any other element of the white population in the State.<sup>87</sup> Rev. J. W. Wellons, of Elon College, N. C., relates an interesting experience he had in attempting to preach to a group of free negroes in Randolph county many years before the Civil War. The free negroes referred to were known as Waldens. They owned considerable land and were withal respectable farmers. The Quakers had allowed them to sit in the congregation with the white folks, and also to come to the white "mourner's bench." On the particular occasion in question, Reverend Mr. Wellons assigned them a certain space in which to sit, and invited them to a separate "mourner's bench," whereupon they became insulted, raised their tents, and left the camp meeting. As a rule, the free negroes did not attend church, possibly for the reason that in nearly all the churches they had to sit with the slaves.<sup>88</sup>

There are no available figures which show the percentage of crime and criminals among the free colored people as compared to the slaves. The fact that their criminal record was sometimes pointed out as an argument against the general emancipation of slaves, does not indicate that they were any worse than the slaves. The slave owners always regarded the free negro with suspicion because he was known to be in sympathy with the desire of the slaves to be free; he might aid slaves in planning a revolt, in running away from their masters and in disposing of stolen goods.

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<sup>86</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1886.

<sup>87</sup> Rev. J. W. Wellons, Elon College, N. C. Mr. Wellons witnessed the execution of Nat Turner in 1831.

<sup>88</sup> Pleasant Grove Church in Randolph county contained a reservation for free negroes.



A glance at the table on the opposite page will show that the counties of Halifax, Wake, Craven, Robeson, Granville and Pasquotank had the heaviest free negro population,—Halifax leading with 2,452. Probably the largest group of free negroes to be found in North Carolina was the exclusive “old issue” settlement known far and wide as The Meadows, near Ransom’s Bridge on Fishing Creek in Halifax County. The people still bear the appellation “old issue,” and are heartily detested by the well-to-do negroes in the adjoining counties.

The United States Census Reports show the following increase in the free negro population of North Carolina, beginning with 1790:

1790	free	black	population	.....	4,975
1800	“	“	“	.....	7,043
1810	“	“	“	.....	10,266
1820	“	“	“	.....	14,612
1830	“	“	“	.....	19,543
1840	“	“	“	.....	22,732
1850	“	“	“	.....	27,463
1860	“	“	“	.....	30,463

In 1816 the General Assembly of North Carolina memorialized Congress to set apart “a certain portion of the United States, situate on the Pacific Ocean for an asylum for persons of color . . . heretofore emancipated or shall hereafter be emancipated under the laws of this State or any other State.”<sup>89</sup> The Federal Government was to provide free transportation. Of course, no action was taken; but the petition throws light on the prevailing sentiment in North Carolina in 1816 with reference to the emancipated negroes. As a matter of fact, there never was a time that the people of North Carolina would not have rejoiced to see a wholesale exodus of the free colored population from the State.

The pronounced indolence and shiftlessness of the free negroes led to the enactment of a law respecting idleness and vagrancy among this class of people, and provided for the hiring out of any free negro convicted of idleness for a term of service and labor not to exceed three years for any single offense.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Hoyt, *Murphey Papers*, p. 61.

<sup>90</sup> *Revisal of 1837*, ch. 111, p. 588.

## FREE NEGROES BY COUNTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA—1860

Alamance .....	422	Jackson .....	6
Alexander .....	24	Johnston .....	195
Alleghany .....	33	Jones .....	113
Anson .....	152	Lenoir .....	178
Ashe .....	142	Lincoln .....	81
Bertie .....	319	McDowell .....	273
Bladen .....	435	Macon .....	115
Brunswick .....	260	Madison .....	17
Buncombe .....	111	Martin .....	451
Burke .....	221	Mecklenburg .....	293
Cabarrus .....	115	Montgomery .....	46
Caldwell .....	114	Moore .....	184
Camden .....	274	Nash .....	687
Carteret .....	153	New Hanover .....	640
Caswell .....	282	Northampton .....	659
Catawba .....	32	Orange .....	528
Chatham .....	306	Onslow .....	162
Cherokee .....	38	Pasquotank .....	1,507
Chowan .....	150	Perquimans .....	395
Cleveland .....	109	Person .....	318
Columbus .....	355	Pitt .....	127
Craven .....	1,332	Polk .....	106
Cumberland .....	109	Randolph .....	432
Currituck .....	223	Richmond .....	345
Davidson .....	149	Robeson .....	1,462
Davie .....	161	Rockingham .....	409
Duplin .....	371	Rowan .....	136
Edgecombe .....	389	Rutherford .....	123
Forsyth .....	218	Sampson .....	488
Franklin .....	566	Stanly .....	45
Gaston .....	111	Stokes .....	86
Gates .....	361	Surry .....	184
Granville .....	1,123	Tyrrell .....	143
Greene .....	154	Union .....	53
Guilford .....	693	Wake .....	1,446
Halifax .....	2,452	Warren .....	402
Harnett .....	103	Washington .....	299
Haywood .....	14	Watauga .....	81
Henderson .....	85	Wayne .....	737
Hertford .....	1,112	Wilkes .....	261
Hyde .....	257	Wilson .....	281
Iredell .....	26	Yancey .....	67

How did the free negroes employ their time? While there were exceptions, the majority of the free colored people hired themselves to work for white people for a daily wage, others became blacksmiths, tinkers, barbers, farmers, small merchants and fiddlers. In almost every community there was a free negro well-digger or ditcher. Where they could rent land, many of them attempted farming on a small scale in connection with their work as wage earners. Free negro women usually made better house servants than slave negro women and were consequently frequently employed in that capacity.<sup>91</sup>

With practically no education, and with very little incentive to accumulate property in any of its forms, one is not surprised to learn that the free negroes, in the words of an old-timer, "never amounted to much."

This paper would not be complete without reference to a few notable free negroes who achieved distinction in the State and nation. Lunsford Lane, the slave of Mrs. Haywood, of Raleigh, bought his freedom and then went North to collect funds with which to buy his wife and children. On returning to the State, he began to negotiate for the purchase of his family, but before he could effect their release from bondage he was forced to leave the State. Not content to leave his wife and children in North Carolina, he came back a second time on the assurance of influential friends that he would not be molested. Upon his arrival in Raleigh, he was arrested, tried and acquitted of being an abolition lecturer. He was subsequently tarred and feathered, but on leaving the State the second time he carried his family. He later became famous as an abolition lecturer.<sup>92</sup>

John Chavis is another famous free negro. He was a regular ordained minister until 1832, when as a result of Nat Turner's Rebellion, all colored preachers were silenced. After 1832 he followed the teaching profession with signal success, conducting schools in Wake, Chatham and Granville counties, and numbering among his pupils such prominent men as Governor Charles Manly, Priestly Mangum, son of Senator Mangum, and

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<sup>91</sup> Reverend J. W. Wellons, Elon College, N. C.

<sup>92</sup> Hawkins, *Life of Lunsford Lane*.

Mr. James H. Horner, founder of the Horner School. He seems to have had a very successful theory of teaching the English language, and his school was reputed to be the best preparatory school in the state at that time.<sup>93</sup>

John C. Stanley, another prominent free negro, began work as a barber and eventually acquired several plantations and sixty-four slaves.<sup>94</sup> Lewis Sheridan, a successful negro farmer and business man, the owner of nineteen slaves, was regarded by Judge Samuel Wilkeson, of New York, as a man of high character, moral worth and mercantile ability.<sup>95</sup>

Other free negroes worthy of special mention are James D. Sampson, John Good, of New Bern, and Henry Evans, a full-blooded free negro from Virginia, a shoemaker by trade, who founded the Methodist Church in Fayetteville during the late eighteenth century.

After taking into account the entire policy of the State relative to the free negro—a policy characteristic of the entire South, one feels that in many respects it was a mistaken one. For instance, should not the State have provided for the education and general uplift of its free negroes? While there were no laws to prohibit the teaching of free negroes, the State did not adopt any positive measures for training them in the duties of citizenship; consequently they remained for the most part in abject and vicious ignorance. It is quite probable that the history of reconstruction in North Carolina would have a brighter aspect had there been an enlightened element of negroes as a nucleus around which the great mass of freedmen could have arrayed themselves. Instead of being led by carpet-baggers, they could have had the leadership of conservative, law-abiding negroes, already instructed in the duties of citizenship.

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<sup>93</sup> *The Southern Workman*, February, 1914.

<sup>94</sup> *Johns Hopkins Studies*, 1899, p. 360.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 35.

SOME COLONIAL HISTORY OF  
CRAVEN COUNTY

BY  
FRANCIS H. COOPER





## SOME COLONIAL HISTORY OF CRAVEN COUNTY

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Before we can understand or know the history of one county, it is necessary to have a general knowledge of the history of the colony or State. So, before writing the history of Craven county during the colonial period, I deem it necessary first to give a brief history of North Carolina before 1707.

Carolina before 1663 belonged to Sir Robert Heath, who had promised to help settle it. He did not, however, make any efforts toward settlement. So in 1663 Carolina was given to eight Lords Proprietors, who were to settle it and govern the settlers as they saw fit. These proprietors were the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Ashley; Sir John Colleton, Lord John Berkley, Sir William Berkley, Lord Clarendon, and Sir George Carteret. They immediately met and set up a plan of government for Carolina. They also said, and had it made known to the public, "that freedom should be enjoyed by the colonists, and that for the five years next following every new settler should receive one hundred acres of land, and fifty in addition for each servant that he brought into the colony, subject only to the payment of a half penny per acre. There was also entire exemption granted from the payment of any custom dues."<sup>2</sup>

The first people that we are sure settled in Carolina came in 1656, but we have a reason to believe that there were settlers in Albemarle before then. We find Roger Green, a Clergyman, petitioning for and obtaining ten thousand acres of land for the first one hundred persons who should settle themselves on the Roanoke and south of the Chowan.<sup>3</sup> This was in the year 1653. Again, in 1651 we find a party of the people who lived south of Norfolk making an entrance by the Currituck inlet, touring Carolina. First they explored Roanoke where Raleigh's first colony was, then proceeded to the Tuscarora Indians, whom

<sup>1</sup> This paper was awarded the second prize in the Colonial Dames contest for 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Hawks, Vol. II, p. 70.

they attached to the interest of the English. After meeting the Tuscaroras they journeyed southward and came in contact with the Neuse, Haynokes and Core Indians, who dwelt on the shores of the Pamlico and Neuse rivers.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that they came inland as far as the present Craven, or Colonial Craven County.

In 1660 the people from New England attempted to settle on the Cape Fear River but failed. In 1664 a group of men landed on Cape Fear from Barbados, intending to make it their home, but they were also unsuccessful. At this time there were two counties in Carolina, Albemarle County on the North and Clarendon on the South, including the Cape Fear region. Between these two counties there was a region including the Neuse and Tar Rivers, later known as Bath County, but at this time unsettled save for the Indians and nearly equally wild northern hunters.<sup>5</sup> In fact I have been able to find the record or name of but one settler in the territory which later became Colonial Craven County who came before 1707. That one was Mr. James Blount, who came from Virginia in 1664.<sup>6</sup> Although he is the only one we know of directly it is certain that there were others who had penetrated from Albemarle or had come from Bermuda and settled there before 1707. In 1676 Thomas Eastchurch was made commander in chief of the settlements on the Pamlico and Neuse rivers. At this date undoubtedly there were a few settlers on the Neuse, and these were stragglers from Albemarle. Most of the people who settled in Carolina before 1707 were either fugitives of religious persecution from New England and Virginia, or were fugitives of the law who came from Virginia and the Bermudas to escape from the hand of justice. Dr. Hawks says, "The region south of Albemarle as far down as the Neuse and Pamlico derived the larger part of its first inhabitants from the counties between the Sound and Virginia."<sup>7</sup> But before these commenced their migration there were some whites there, but not English. Martin says that in 1690 the French Protestant refugees on the James River bought land on the Pamlico and settled there. In 1698

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Wheeler's *Men and Memories of North Carolina*, under Craven County.

<sup>7</sup> Hawks, Vol. II, p. 84.

the whites from Albemarle made settlements on the Pamlico. The Indians in that region just before the whites came had been killed by a plague, thought to have been the smallpox.<sup>8</sup> But with all these settlements there were but about 5,000 whites in North Carolina in 1698.<sup>9</sup> Soon after this migration in 1698 to the Pamlico River the English settled the present town of Bath. This was the first incorporated town in the province. Forty-two years had elapsed between the first settlement and the first town in North Carolina. This was due largely to the fact that the people were given to farming, and their products were delivered directly from the field to the boat.

In 1707 the first settlement that we are sure of was made in Craven County. A colony of French Huguenots, encouraged by William III, in the year 1690, had come to America and settled at Manakin Town, Virginia, above the falls of the James River. They were not satisfied with the land that they first occupied and moved southward, one group in 1690,<sup>10</sup> and, as we have seen, settled on the Pamlico. In 1707 another group moved southward and settled on the Trent and Neuse Rivers, mostly on the Trent in Craven county, near where the old county bridge stood,<sup>11</sup> which was not over a mile and a half from the site of the present bridge. With these French, who were a sober, frugal, industrious people, and who in a short time became independent citizens, came their minister, Phillipe de Richebourg.<sup>12</sup> Some of his decendants still live in the county of Buncombe. And Williamson says that Rymbourg came with them,<sup>12</sup> but he must have stopped on the Pamlico. After a short time Richebourg, with a portion of his people, proceeded farther south and planted himself on the Santee River, where he died.

There are plainly two causes that brought the early settlers to North Carolina. First, the land was fertile and free; second, because freedom of worship was promised. Not only religious people came to North Carolina, but also outlaws and debtors

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>10</sup> Williamson, *History of North Carolina*, p. 178.

<sup>11</sup> Vass, *History of Presbyterian Church and Craven County*, p. 49.

<sup>12</sup> Williamson, p. 178.

came. These mixed and we are not surprised that in a short time we do not find the settlers of North Carolina religious, after having adapted themselves to a new country, new manners and ways, and mixed the best with the worst. In fact they had ways of their own. But these people were not allowed to rest in peace long before an attempt was made to persecute them in their new homes.

As we have seen, Carolina was given to the Lord Proprietors and they promised freedom of worship to settlers; also Charles II said, "that the Church of England should be the church of the province. Yet that toleration should be allowed to all other sects so long as they did not trouble the government or insult the Church." These were the intentions of the Proprietors and the King, but they were unfortunate in picking men for governors of the province.

The first of these governors that I shall mention was Stephens, (1667). He did not try to force the English Church on the people, but he did forbid them to pay debts made before coming to North Carolina. He also tried to force "Locke's Constitution" on them. They resisted it, however, until 1775. In 1677 came the Culpepper Revolt. Then came the rule of Seth Sothel. He broke off the trade with the Indians for his own private gain. He seized and confiscated without a shadow of cause cargoes, negroes, cattle, plantations, and even pewter dishes were not exempt from his rapacious hands. He upheld men of his own type, and there was no justice in court. In 1704 Governor Daniels came over. He was determined to establish the Church of England in the Province but had little success. He was governor only one year before Cary came as governor. Cary was determined to rule the colony. He ruled for a short time when Glover came over as governor. He did not intend to give up his office and he brought about the Cary Rebellion, which we shall touch upon later.

In 1664 that part of the country between Albemarle and Clarendon was made into a county by the name of Bath. And in 1705 Bath was divided into three precincts, Craven being included in the Archdale precinct.

## CRAVEN COUNTY, SITUATION, CLIMATE, SOIL, PRODUCTS AND TRADE

The present Craven county lies in the eastern part of North Carolina, on the Neuse and Trent Rivers. It has an area of about 417,950 acres and is bounded by the counties of Carteret, Pamlico, Jones, Pitt, Beaufort, and Lenoir. It is considerably smaller now than at the close of the year 1775.

In 1664 the territory between Albemarle and Cape Fear was named Bath. In 1705 Bath county was divided into precincts. That part of the country between the Neuse and Pamlico Rivers, together with the settlements on both sides of Neuse, was called Archdale precinct. This precinct included the present Craven county and more. At this time there were about five thousand inhabitants in the whole province. The coming of the French, Swiss, and Germans to Archdale precinct, or Craven county, made Archdale the most populous precinct south of Albemarle. In 1713 the population of the whole province was not more than three thousand, the Indian war having driven the people away. But in 1715 we find the whole province to have about eleven thousand two hundred inhabitants. There were 7,500 whites and 3,700 negroes. In fact the population had increased in such numbers since 1713 that the Lord Proprietors found it necessary in order to govern the people and in order to establish the Church, to divide each of the three counties into precincts and parishes. Bath was divided into three or four precincts or parishes. That part on the Neuse, Trent, and Bear Rivers, and their branches, formerly Archdale precinct, was named Craven precinct or parish,<sup>13</sup> after Lord Craven, one of the Proprietors. The population gradually increased in Craven precinct. In 1729 all the province was purchased by the crown with the exception of Carteret's part. The royal authority changed the term of precinct to county, giving each the colonial county government. Craven county consisted of the territory on the Neuse, Trent, and Bear Rivers and their tributaries. It seems as if there was no limit to the western part of the county.

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<sup>13</sup> C. R. Vol. II, p.207.



I suppose that it extended as far back as the source of the Neuse. In 1733 Edgecombe county was formed out of part of Craven county.<sup>14</sup> In 1746 Craven county was divided by a line beginning at the mouth of Southwest Creek and extending up the creek. The northern part became Johnston county.<sup>15</sup> In 1764 the northern part of Craven was added to Dobbs county and later a part to Pitt. About this time, by the petition of the people of that part of Beaufort lying between Bay River and Lower Broad Creek, that part of said county, became a part of Craven county. So we see that from the year 1733 the boundaries of Craven county were steadily decreased and one time increased, so they were nearly the same as now plus those of Jones, and part of Pamlico.

The climate of Craven is changeable but good. The soil runs from the sandy soil in the fields to the black of the river valleys. In its productiveness it is unsurpassed, both for agriculture and stock raising. Hawks, speaking of the eastern part of North Carolina, particularly of Colonial Carteret and Craven counties, says, "While from the Virginia line down to the sea coast in Carteret, the region of the first settlers was wonderfully productive. The swamps and stream banks [Craven is full of such streams and banks] are full of oak, cypress, gum, cedar, ash, maple, and walnut trees. The pasturage was excellent and the oxen grew to a great size and were used for beef. Heifers increased so rapidly that in a short time people found themselves owners of hundreds of cattle and beeves. The hog increased greatest being fed from acorns and nuts found in the woods. Sheep thrived." Indeed Craven was a rich territory. Life was made easy by nature, and it is not to be wondered at that with such existing natural advantages and freedom as Craven afforded that the oppressed of other countries and colonies sought abodes there.

The people of Craven county at first only traded with New England and Virginia, but soon with the West Indies and Europe. Indeed, ships left New Bern direct for France and Eng-

<sup>14</sup> *Handbook of North Carolina, 1879*, p. 67.

<sup>15</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. XXIII, p.248.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.



land before 1776. I expect that Craven county had as much if not more trade than any other colonial county of North Carolina. The chief products were beef, pork, tallow, hides, deerskins and furs, corn, peas, tobacco, cotton, hemp, tar, pitch, turpentine, rice, and flour. To Virginia went the greater part of our tobacco, in exchange for articles needed. To New England and the Bermudas went the greater part of our products in exchange for rum, sugar, salt, molasses and some wearing apparel. To Europe went our naval stores. Indian corn, and naval supplies were our greatest exports. So great an amount of Indian corn was being shipped from New Bern in 1776 that Tryon, fearful that the supply would give out, proclaimed that no more should leave until after four months from date. This corn went to the North and to the West Indies.<sup>17</sup> We had a good trade with the North and West Indies. The harbors at New Bern were never seen without a ship from one of these places waiting for cargoes. Craven county was on the post road from Suffolk, Virginia, to South Carolina. The roads of Craven were bad, but not so in comparison with those of other counties. Indeed, Colonial Craven county was an ideal place of abode.

### SWISS AND GERMAN PALATINES

Craven county, or Archdale precinct, as it was then known, has the distinction of having the first settlers to come direct from Europe to the province. And this colony added greatly to the population of the province. They made good citizens and were welcomed to the colony. Fitch says, "This was the first important introduction into the eastern section of the province of a most excellent class of liberty-loving people, whose descendants, wherever their lots were cast in our country, gave illustrious proof of their valor and patriotism during the Revolutionary War."<sup>18</sup>

The German Palatines came from the Palatinate. They came also from Heidelberg, and its vicinity.

<sup>17</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 225.

<sup>18</sup> Fitch *Some Neglected History of North Carolina*, p. 26.

The colony was indebted for these to the trouble in Europe in 1693.<sup>19</sup> This trouble was religious persecution. The Elector Palatine, Frederick III, surnamed "the pious," who died in 1676, was one of the purest and noblest German princes,—the German Alfred. He was devoted to the advancement—political, educational, and ecclesiastical—of his people. In 1685 the successor of Frederick died and the house of Newbury, a bigoted popish family, came in. The religion of a province in Germany was at that time governed by the religion of the ruling prince, or in other words the people had to recant every time a new prince with a different religion came on the throne. The Palatinate was a strong Protestant province, and in spite of the invasions of 1622, 1634, 1688, ordered by the pope, had retained their faith in Protestantism and would not change. The new prince in 1685 being a Catholic, severe punishment was brought upon them, but they refused to recant. In 1688 Louis XIV of France, a zealous champion of the pope, waged war on and invaded the Palatinate. The country was devastated and the people turned out of their homes because they would not, or could not, change their faith every time the throne was occupied by a new prince. They with their neighbors from the near vicinity, to the number of many thousand, had to seek homes in foreign countries. Great sympathy was felt for these poor creatures, whose sin was merely Protestantism.<sup>20</sup> The Queen of England, Anne, pitying their condition by her proclamation, in 1708, offered them protection in her dominions, and about twelve thousand went to England in 1708-1709. De Graffenried estimated that at the time of his arrival in England more than twenty thousand had come, "but intermingled with many Swiss and people of other German provinces."<sup>21</sup>

About this time Christopher Emanuel de Graffenried arrived in England and with him a friend, Lewis Mitchell. Both of these men were looking for a way to repair their fortune. Mitch-

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<sup>19</sup> Hawks, Vol. 2, p. 86.

<sup>20</sup> Hawks, Vol. II, p. 86.

<sup>21</sup> Vass, p. 57.

ell had been to America and knew something of it. De Graffenried was a young, handsome and fascinating Swiss nobleman and was a favorite of Queen Anne. He was a citizen of Bern, Switzerland, and the elder son of Antony De Gräaffenried, Lord of Worb. He had been mayor of Yoerdon, in Neufchatel, under the commission from the senate of Bern. He had failed financially and went to England, in hopes of going to America to build up his fortune.<sup>22</sup> He saw a chance in these Palatines. He and Mitchell acted and through Mitchell's influence they determined to plant a colony in Carolina.

They bought ten thousand acres of land between the Neuse and Cape Fear Rivers and their branches. They paid twenty shillings sterling per hundred acres and bound themselves for six pence yearly per hundred acres. In addition to this the Surveyor General was to lay off and reserve for them one hundred thousand acres of land for a period of twelve years. And when they had paid for five thousand acres at the set price one of them was to be gratified by a title. Graffenried made the purchase and was made Baron.<sup>23</sup> De Graffenried and Mitchell, having made this purchase, naturally wanted settlers for their territory so as to make it pay them. The Palatines offered themselves for speculation. The Baron and Mitchell knew that Queen Anne would help pay for their transportation to America. They mentioned it to the Queen, who was glad to help the Palatines. She not only paid for the transportation of them but also bestowed gifts to the amount of £4,000 sterling<sup>24</sup> on them. Before this, commissioners had been appointed to collect money for the aid of the Palatines. Then De Graffenried and Mitchell made an agreement with the Lord Proprietors. The result was that De Graffenried and Mitchell agreed to transport ninety-two families of the Palatines, nearly six hundred and fifty persons, with their own Swiss colonists. They paid only five and a half pounds per person for the Palatines that they transported to North Carolina, or about \$18,000.<sup>25</sup> They were also to give to each family two hundred and fifty acres of land

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>23</sup> Williamson, p. 182.

<sup>24</sup> Vass, p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

and the first five years free from charge, but every year after the said five years the Palatines were to pay them two pence lawful money for each acre.<sup>26</sup> During the first year after their arrival they were to be furnished grain, provisions and other things for the support of life. They were to pay for this two years after their arrival. They were also to be furnished within four months after their arrival with two cows and two calves, five sows with their young, two ewe sheep and two lambs, with a male of each kind. These were to be paid for within seven years after receiving them. They were also to be furnished, gratis, tools and implements for felling trees and building houses.<sup>27</sup>

The commissioners, on their part, for the Queen agreed to give each colonist, young and old, twenty shillings sterling in clothes and money, and to pay De Graffenried and Mitchell five pounds and ten shillings a head for transportation.<sup>28</sup> The money of the poor Palatines was given to De Graffenried, and if they received any of it it was only a small portion. This agreement is dated October 1709.

In mild weather in January, 1710, after prayer they set sail for America, escorted by Read-Admiral Noris with two ships as far as the latitude of Portugal. The voyage was rough and lasted for thirteen weeks. They suffered terribly from hunger, and more than half died on the way over. At the mouth of the James River a French captain plundered one of the vessels containing the best goods.<sup>29</sup> Besides many dying on the sea a good number died from eating and drinking too much raw fruit and water after landing. Those who were left landed in Virginia, and after travelling twenty miles or more by land they arrived in the county of Albemarle on the River Chowan, at the residence of a rich settler, Thomas Pollock. He took care of them and supplied them with all necessities, for money. He sent them across the sound in boats and into the county of Bath, where they were located April or May, 1710, by the Surveyor-General, Lawson, on a tongue of land between the Neuse and

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<sup>26</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. I, p. 988.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Hawks, Vol. II, p. 87.

<sup>29</sup> Vass, p. 57 or *C. R.*, Vol. I, p. 909.

Trent Rivers, called Chattawka, where afterwards was founded the small city of New Bern.<sup>30</sup>

De Graffenried was not able to accompany the Palatines because he had to meet a colony of his own people of Bern. He, after picking out the best and healthiest of the Palatines, appointed three directors, who happened to be then in London and who had lived already several years in Carolina. One was a General Receiver, another General-Surveyor, the third a Justice of Peace. It is not certain that the three sailed with them, but we know that the General-Surveyor, John Lawson, came with them. Lawson, as De Graffenried says, "instead of settling these poor people every one on his own plantation, in order to gain time and enable them to clear and clean out their lands, located them in his own personal interest on part of his own lands on the southern bank of Trent River at the very hottest and most unhealthy place." Furthermore, he sold them that tongue of land between the Neuse and Trent Rivers at a heavy price when he had no claim to it.<sup>31</sup> De Graffenried had later to buy it from the Indian Chief King Taylor. On this place the Palatines remained until September, suffering from lack of food and other necessities. In fact, they were forced to sell their clothes and other things in order to sustain life.

In September 1710 De Graffenried, with his Swiss, arrived in Chattawka. As we have seen, he left London and went to New Castle, where the Swiss joined him. The Swiss were mostly from Bern. They, too, fled from religious persecution. They set sail from Holland, stopped at New Castle for De Graffenried, and according to his statement he, with the Swiss, set sail for America in June 1710, arriving in Carolina about the middle of September of the same year. They landed in Virginia where De Graffenried was offered the place of Governor of North Carolina by a few Carolinians. They took nearly the same route followed by the Palatines, stopping at Thomas Pollock's home, then on to Chattawka.

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<sup>30</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. I, p. 911.

<sup>31</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. I, p. 910.



Immediately upon his arrival he assigned each Palatine to his portion of land, and within eighteen months they had homes built that were comfortable. He also settled Chattawka after purchasing it from the Indians. He changed the name to New Bern in honor of the birthplace of himself and Mitchell, Bern in Switzerland.

In 1713 De Graffenried left the colony and went back to Europe. He took with him not only the money entrusted to him by the commissioners for the poor Palatines, but also he either took with him or spent before he left America eight hundred pounds sterling, for which he mortgaged his lands and those of the Palatines to Colonel Thomas Pollock and his heirs. Pollock offered, after the mortgage had expired, to give back the land if De Graffenried would pay him his money, which he would not do. The Palatines were thus left on the land of someone else. In 1714, right after the Indian war, which they had endured fairly well, and had prospered to a certain extent and increased in number, they petitioned the Lord Proprietors that each family might take up four hundred acres of land and might be allowed two years to pay for it. This was granted to them.<sup>32</sup>

The Palatines and Swiss, both industrious, religious, mild of temperament, established in Carolina a new spirit of freedom and formed a new and improved society. Both of them prospered and not only lived in Craven county, but increased and expanded their settlements into Jones and Carteret counties. Descendants of these Swiss and Palatines figured greatly in the early history of North Carolina. Some of them held the leading places in public life. Others were renowned for their part in the Revolutionary War and the events leading to it. I have in mind one, Richard Cogdell, a Swiss, who held offices in the Assembly, and was a leader in the Stamp Act Riot in New Bern, 1765. Indeed, their value to the province, in either a political, religious, or social view cannot be overestimated.

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<sup>32</sup> Hawks, Vol. II, p. 88.



The Palatines and Swiss were not, however, the only settlers Craven received in the year of 1710. In this year a colony of Welsh Quakers settled below New Bern, on Clubfoot and Hancock Creeks on the south side of the Neuse. Among these were Thomas and John Lovick, later prominent men, also Roger and Evan Jones.

Some names of the Swiss and Palatines who came to Craven, on a petition to the queen, 1711,<sup>33</sup> and some are still familiar in our county of Craven and its neighbors: Eslar (now Isler), Renege, Moor (now Moore), Eiback (Hypock) our present name of Ipock, Morris, Kensey, Wallis, Gernest, Miller, Walker, Simons (our present Simmons), all German. Of the Swiss we find Coxdaile (Cogdell), from whom on the maternal side descended the North Carolina branches of the families of Stanly and Badger.

### RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS

At first the people of North Carolina were welcomed by the Indians, especially the Tuscaroras, because of the rum that they brought to them. Again the Indians and white men were gainers in each one's own opinion from the trade carried on between them. In fact the relations with the Indians were as peaceful and profitable to the whites as could have been desired until the whites alienated them. For sixty years the Indians and whites lived together without war. This was partly due to the fact that the Indians who lived on the coast were divided into many small tribes without any powerful confederacy.<sup>34</sup> On every section of the banks there was a tribe. They had a plentiful supply of sea food and did not depend as much on game for a living as the Indians farther inland. Therefore they did not realize the value of land, nor its use until after the whites had made a settlement with determination to remain in Carolina. Another reason is that at first the whites came without any forces and put themselves, in a manner, on the good will of the Indians and begged instead of demanded land. But the one fault of the white man in dealing with the

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<sup>33</sup> Vass, pp. 70-71.

<sup>34</sup> Williamson.

Indian was, as I have mentioned before, the selling of too much rum to him. In 1703 Daniels attempted to put a stop to this but with little success.<sup>35</sup>

The most powerful of all the Indian tribes which inhabited the eastern part of North Carolina was the Tuscaroras, who lived on the Taw (or Tar) and Neuse Rivers in what is now Bertie county and counties south of Albemarle, also on Pamlico River. At first they invited the whites, but soon looked on them with a bitter eye, as the whites took more and more of their lands and mistreated them in some few cases. They had in all twelve hundred men or warriors. Besides the Tuscaroras southeast of the sound were the tribes of the Neusicos, Pamlicos, Cotechneys, and (nearer the ocean) the Woccons, Maramiskeets, Matchapeengoes, Hatteras, Cores, Croatans, and Bear River Indians. The whole number of Indians able to take the field was about sixteen hundred.<sup>36</sup> The Indians who lived in Craven county were mostly the Cores, and Neuse, and a few Tuscaroras and Bear River Indians. Lawson says that owing to the plague which killed many of the Indians north of the Pamlico River, the Indians were the thickest on the Neuse, Trent and Pamlico Rivers.

As we have seen, the Indians first came in contact with the white man in 1651, when a party from below Norfolk were exploring Carolina. Next the hunters came in contact with them on the Neuse and Trent Rivers. The French in 1707 were welcomed by the Indians in Craven county, and when De Graffenried and his colonists came they received a warm reception at the hands of King Taylor and his warriors. They were met by this chief and his followers at what is now the foot of South Front Street, after exchanging greetings both parties went under two live oak trees, which were destroyed in 1841 by fire, where De Graffenried and King Taylor smoked the pipe of peace. Soon they made a treaty and De Graffenried purchased that land on which New Bern now stands from this chief. This transaction with the Indians helped to save the life of the Baron later. The Swiss and Palatines took them in trust, gave

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>36</sup> Hawks, Vol. II, p. 527.

them work in their homes and on their plantations and bought some of their captives for slaves. The whites of New Bern and its vicinity even took the Indians and gave them bedding at night and food when they came to obtain provisions.<sup>37</sup>

The largest portion of the white population was north of Albemarle. The other portion was to be found in and about New Bern, over the country intervening between it and Washington, and up the Pamlico around Bath, in Jones on the Trent, then part of Craven precinct or Archdale precinct, and in Carteret between New Bern and Beaufort. The Swiss and Germans remained in and around New Bern.<sup>38</sup>

Before the Swiss arrived in New Bern, Cary had started his rebellion. He made so much trouble that the governor of Virginia, Spotswood, was sent to for aid. Aid was sent and Cary was captured and sent to England. It was not destruction that Cary and his followers themselves did that made things so bad, but their influence over the Indians was one of the main causes of the Indian massacre of 1711. Cary had three prominent adherents: John Porter, Mr. Moseley, and a man named Roach. These four men really put the notion of rebellion into the minds of the Indians. Besides the influence of Cary and his adherents, there were other causes that brought on the Indian massacre. One, as De Graffenried says, was the carelessness, negligence, and lack of precaution on the part of the Carolinians. Another was the rough treatment of some of the turbulent Carolinians, who cheated the Indians in trade and wouldn't allow them to hunt near their plantations, and under that pretense took away from them their game, arms, and ammunition. They even killed an Indian. This incensed them most of all.<sup>39</sup> Another was that the Indians by this time had begun to realize that their land was being occupied more rapidly every day.

The Indians could not stand this much longer. All they wanted was a leader. They found him in the chief of the Tuscaroras. He divided the Indian into different groups, so that many settlements could be attacked at the same time. The

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<sup>37</sup> *Old Time Stories in North Carolina.*

<sup>38</sup> Hawks.

<sup>39</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. I, p. 922.

Cotechneys, who lived in what is now Green county, joined the Cores to do the work at New Bern and on the Neuse and Trent. The Maramiskeets and Matchapungees were assigned to Bath and its vicinity. The work on the Roanoke and Albemarle the Tuscaroras and Meherrins would do. The strange part about this confederacy and its intentions was that they kept them secret so that they were not known, nor was any evil suspected of them until its purpose was accomplished.

A few days before the massacre took place De Graffenried and Lawson, accompanied by a negro, started on a trip up Neuse River. They had travelled all day and it was near night when they were surrounded by a party of Indians and hurried to Catechna, King Hancock's town. Here they were cordially received by the chief, and it seems as if the three would have been liberated had it not been for a Core Indian reporting to the chief some minor insult that he had received from Lawson. Furthermore, the Indians held Lawson responsible for the coming of the whites and for their taking up the lands of the reds. Lawson and the negro were burned at the stake. De Graffenried made the reds believe that he was the King, and that his death would be avenged by other whites from across the ocean, and he reminded them also of the kindness that they had always received at the hands of the Swiss and Palatines, and that he had paid for, instead of stealing their lands. He was liberated after a stay during which he saw the Christian prisoners brought in from Pamlico, Neuse, and Trent. Before leaving he made a treaty with them which guaranteed the Swiss and Germans to be free from the Indian wars so long as they did not side with the other whites against them and so long as they treated the Indians rightly.<sup>40</sup>

On Friday, September twenty-first, a few days after the departure of Lawson and the Baron, the Indians, as they were accustomed, came into the settlements on the Pamlico, Neuse, and Trent,—only in larger numbers. The settlers did not suspect anything wrong. Just before daybreak, Saturday, September 22, 1711, the massacre began. Houses were burned,

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<sup>40</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. I, p.935.

cattle driven off, people captured and killed. In the town of New Bern it was not so bad however. The people fled, leaving their homes and goods to the Indians, yet they were not troubled as the people in the vicinity. In and around New Bern there were sixty or seventy Palatines and Swiss murdered or captured. Yet the people of New Bern were not harmed half so much as the people around Bath. This massacre lasted for three days and nights.<sup>41</sup> It must have been the past conduct of De Graffenried towards the Indians that saved New Bern, because for twenty-two weeks after the beginning of the massacre New Bern stood armless, before any real aid came to the relief of the people. Then when the colonists were on the point of starvation, the Baron went to Virginia for aid and sent to South Carolina also for aid. What provisions the colonists obtained were from the Albemarle section. South Carolina was the first to respond. Immediately after receiving the summons for aid Colonel Barnwell, under the orders of the governor, with eight-hundred reds, mostly Yamasees, and about fifty militia started for the Neuse and the Trent.<sup>42</sup> After a long and hard march they arrived on the Neuse, received orders at New Bern, and marched against the Indians with such fury that they retreated until they reached a strong fort which they had erected in the upper part of Craven county. In addition to the South Carolina troops there were two hundred Englishmen and fifty Swiss and Germans under Colonel Mitchell. Upon reaching their fort the Indians received reinforcements and made a stand to fight the white. Barnwell, however, assaulted them so furiously that they were defeated with great slaughter. Three hundred or more were killed and one hundred captured, beside the wounded. The Indians retreated into the fort and after a siege, offered to make peace, which Barnwell, to his and the colonists sorrow, accepted. Because his terms were light, the Indians renewed the war immediately. If he had not made peace, the Indians would have been completely annihilated; for Colonel Mitchell, with his fifty Swiss and Germans had raised a battery within eleven yards of the fort and mounted it with two cannon. He

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<sup>41</sup> Fitch, p. 26.

<sup>42</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. I, p. 934.



also surrounded a portion of the palisade with combustibles and was ready to open fire when peace was made.<sup>43</sup>

The Indians did not maintain their treaty but renewed war almost immediately. Barnwell returned home, and the colonists were left in a bad situation. Tom Blunt, through the efforts of Colonel Pollock, was attached, with a few of his followers, to the white side. In the latter part of 1712 Colonel Moore arrived with aid from South Carolina. After stopping in Craven for a short time, he went to Albemarle. On the 20th of March, 1713, he laid siege to the Indian stronghold Nahuck in Green county. Here he struck them such a blow that they never recovered. Soon after this siege the Indians scattered, and in 1715 the remaining Tuscaroras left the State and went to join their kinsmen, the Iroquois.<sup>44</sup>

From 1717 the relations with Indians in Craven county were merely those of master and slave, in fact, very few remained in the county. Craven, in the French and Indian War, however, furnished her share of the militia which went to help Washington, under Waddell and Innes, but which was sent back by the governor of Virginia.

The results of the Indian massacre and war of 1711 to 1713 were that the colonists in Craven were captured or driven from their homes, to which some returned. Most of their stock, provisions, and homes were destroyed. Indeed, it was a great discouragement to the young colonists. However, they stood it and were pleased when, by a petition, they received lands of their own.

After they became settled and had schools for their children, they attempted with some success to educate and Christianize their old enemies, the Indians.

## RELIGION

The first inhabitants of Craven county were, as we have seen, only the hunter and straggling parties of Englishmen from Virginia and New England. Their aim in coming to North Car-

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<sup>43</sup> Hawks, Vol. II, p. 539.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 549.



olina was partly religious freedom. But, they did not bring with them ministers, and after remaining in the changed surroundings for a number of years they lost all of their former rites and worshipped God in their own way. A minister in Carolina was regarded with as much curiosity as we would regard an infidel today. These people who first came to Carolina were, before coming, Puritans, Quakers, and other dissenters.

In 1707 the first real religious settlers came to Craven county, the second such group that came to North Carolina. They were the French Protestants, who had fled from France for the one purpose of freedom of worship. They were of the Calvinist faith. They brought with them their minister, Claude Philippe de Richebourg. They were allowed at first the same privileges as the English, but soon the English became jealous of them and of their right to vote. This right was then taken away from them. They were religious and attempted to Christianize the Indians with some success.

The next settlers to come into Craven county were the Swiss and the Palatines. These came also for the purpose of religious freedom, they belonged to the reformed Church of Calvinists, and part of them were doubtless Lutherans. They were stout Christians. Therefore, in Craven county there were three groups of colonists, including the Swiss, who were of the Reformed Church, who were firm believers in the church and in Protestantism, while no other precinct or county had more than one. Therefore, Craven county was settled by more people of the church than any other county. It was the center of religion as it was the center of education and wealth, as we shall see later. During the colonial period there were many other colonists who came and settled in Craven. These were English, and a group of Germans in 1732.

As we have seen, the Proprietors promised freedom of worship to all settlers and the king promised toleration to all dissenters. Again, we have seen that the Proprietors desired to establish the English Church in Carolina, and some of the gov-

ernors attempted to carry out the desires of the Proprietors. In order to do this more easily, by the Vestry Act of 1705,<sup>45</sup> the province was divided into nine parishes. In 1701 it had been divided into precincts. Craven lay in St. Thomas parish. In 1705 Archdale parish was made, which included the whole of Craven county.<sup>46</sup> But since there were but few inhabitants in the Archdale parish, no steps were taken towards the establishment of the church. In 1715, owing to the rapid growth of the province in population, it was again divided by a new Vestry Act. Archdale precinct became Craven parish, which contained the territory around the Neuse and Trent, and to this all the southern settlements of the province were assigned, "Until further divisions were made." This time, by the Act, twelve vestrymen and a minister were appointed for each parish:<sup>47</sup>

#### CRAVEN VESTRYMEN

Col Tom Brice	Richard Graves	Thomas Smith
Major Wm. Hancock	Daniel McFarlin	Jos. Bell
John Nelson	John Smith	Martin Frank
John Sloeumb	John MacKey	Jacob Sheets

These laymen were bound under oath and penalty according to the laws of England for vestrymen in that kingdom. Each one was also required to subscribe to a declaration that it was not lawful on "any pretense whatsoever to take up arms against the king," and "not oppugn the liturgy of the Church of England as it is by law established." These vestrymen, having thus qualified themselves to act, chose from their number two to act as wardens for a year. The statute enjoined the laymen to do their best to get good ministers, and authorized them by a tax per poll, not to exceed five shillings each on every taxable in the parish, to raise for the minister a salary of at least fifty pounds annually. But there was a proviso, that to entitle himself to his salary, he, the minister, should reside in his parish and not be absent over six Sundays, without a leave, in a year. He also had to perform all marriage ceremonies in the parish.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> DeRossett, *Church Hist. of North Carolina*, p. 162.

<sup>46</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 6.

<sup>47</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 6.

<sup>48</sup> Hawks, Vol. II, p. 170.

These two acts were not the only two acts passed to fasten on an unwilling people, by effective legislation, an Episcopal establishment with an adequate support by taxation. Other acts were passed in 1715, 1741, 1754, 1759, 1764-65. Taxes were imposed for purchasing ample glebes, building comfortable churches, and paying stipends to ministers, all of the establishment.

At first there were two classes who did not go by these laws: Quakers, to whom nothing at first was done, were allowed to hold meetings, but on account of oath these were kept from holding public office. Soon however, these were made to pay church taxes and to comply with the other laws. Protestant dissenters who came from England or the colonies in North Carolina were permitted to hold meetings, if in public, to be subject to all the English statutes touching the toleration of dissenters in the mother country. They were, however, in a short time deprived of the right of holding meetings, or of organizing.

There were many different sects in Craven county. First were the Puritans, who came, as before stated, from England, and also a large number from New Jersey. They came from 1707 steadily until after the war. Yet, they were never organized or established in the county. The next were the Quakers. The first large settlement of these came in 1710. They did not organize, but were "God-fearing" Quakers. They were persecuted by being kept out of office, and, by all calamities that befell the province being laid to the Quakers as the people responsible. Presbyterians were strong in Craven. The French were the first Presbyterians in the county, and some of the Swiss believed with them. This sect was strengthened by the Scotch-Irish who wandered, few in number, into Craven county. They did not have a church, but attended services with any denomination. They were moderate, industrious, and progressive, especially in education. On Christmas eve, 1739, Rev. George Whitefield arrived in New Bern. He preached there in the court house a sermon that made the congregation melt in tears. He was much grieved at the encouragement of dancing by the

ministers there. In November, 1764, he again visited New Bern. Here he met with what were called New Lights, or Presbyterians, in great numbers.<sup>49</sup> They were in the lead in number in 1765 and were strong during the whole colonial period. There were many Methodists in the county, but not organized. After New Bern was in a district and visited by Methodist preachers, about 1773, this sect increased rapidly. James Reed, the minister of the Established Church, says in a letter that he is trying to keep the Methodists down but meeting with little success. He also said that the greater part of the dissenters came from the North, and that they tried to run down the English Church. This was about 1763. The Methodists were of the more ignorant class. They did not organize until after the war. Catholics were few in number. In fact, there were not over ten in the whole county.<sup>50</sup> The Baptists came early in Craven county, and were strong. In 1740 they organized and asked permission, in the form of a petition, to be allowed to build a church in New Bern. This request was granted, but Purefoy and Slede were imprisoned for presenting a petition to the court.<sup>51</sup> But more probably they were imprisoned for charges of unlawfulness that had been before this time presented against them. This act was the only one of its kind in North Carolina,<sup>52</sup> upheld by the Toleration Act, intended for the punishment of the Catholics. The Baptists were, however, severely persecuted in Craven county but they increased all the more from it. They did not build a church until after 1776.

The Established, English or Episcopal Church was, as we have seen, supported by taxation. This was the only sect in Craven county who were really organized and had a church. From 1701-76 this church or religion, by the different Acts before mentioned was forced upon the people. By the Act of 1740 a tax of one shilling and six pence was laid on each taxable in Craven parish.<sup>53</sup> Their church was not completed until 1751 or later. The first minister of the English Church that I can find

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<sup>49</sup> Vass p. 79.

<sup>50</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 265.

<sup>51</sup> Vass, p. 83.

<sup>52</sup> DeRossett, or Ashe, Vol. I.

<sup>53</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 141.

any trace of was the Rev. John Lapierre, who was ousted from New Hanover by Mr. Marsden. He went to New Bern about 1735 and remained until his death in 1755.<sup>54</sup> He was not engaged as a minister there by the laymen, although it is probable that he held meetings. This is proven by an Act of 1741<sup>55</sup> which enabled the laymen to spend the minister's salary on the church since they had not employed a minister.<sup>56</sup> By the Act preceding Craven county was made a parish with the name of "Christ Church parish." In 1753 the Rev. James Reed, who was a man of fine character, who was interested in the preaching of the gospel to the people, who did more than any other man in Craven county towards the establishment of the public school, especially the New Bern Academy, who in every way tried to help the progress of Craven county, came and settled in New Bern. Here, during the same year, he preached in the church every evening and at several of his chapels in the county. The vestrymen liked him so well that in 1754 they made an agreement with him, which was passed by the Assembly. This agreement provided for the payment of a salary of one hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence proclamation money to him annually, so long as he continued to hold services at New Bern and to attend the several chapels (which were eight) in the county, according to the terms of said agreement.<sup>57</sup> Mr. Reed remained in Craven county until his death, which was after the Revolution. During this time he did much towards establishing the people in the faith of the English Church. The people of Craven county did appreciate him and his work, and showed it by getting the Assembly to give him a fixed salary and by building for him a parsonage.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, he was the best minister in the province and fared better than any other.

The first members of the English Church in Craven county were some of the English from Virginia, the next were the Palatines and Swiss, who in belief were Lutherans and Calvinists, but as soon as settling in North Carolina applied to the Bishop

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 365.

<sup>55</sup> DeRosset, p. 69.

<sup>56</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 182.

<sup>57</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 420.

<sup>58</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. I, p. 756.



of London to allow them to be received into his church. And De Graffenried hoped that they would behave themselves as dutiful patrons of the English Church.<sup>58</sup> This sect was increased by Englishmen who steadily came into the county from after the massacre until the war. It was, in Craven county, the ruling church, but only by being forced upon the people. For, as we have seen, the New Lights or Presbyterians were in the lead there.

On the whole the religious conditions of the county were excellent in comparison with the other counties. Mr. Reed, in a letter to the secretary, dated June 26, 1760, said that he estimated that there were in the whole county about a thousand infidels and heathen and that the negroes were for the most part heathen.<sup>59</sup>

## EDUCATION

The first people who came to Craven were not educated. They had only the education gained by all early pioneers. The French, German, and Swiss were more of the class of laboring people than of educated noblemen. They were indeed the most educated people in North Carolina at that time. They had educated ministers with them, and they were apt and quick to learn when the opportunity for study offered itself. We have no proof, but judging by the character of the people, and their purpose in coming to America, we are convinced that some steps were quickly, after settling, taken towards preparing schools for the children.

Craven county soon became the center of learning of the province, when New Bern was made the capital. Then the most learned people moved to Craven. Again, the people of Craven county were wealthy and hired private teachers for their children when they were young. When the boy was well enough fitted he was sent off to college, abroad or in the other colonies. The greater part of the boys who went to college from Craven entered Princeton.

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<sup>59</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 265.



In spite of Craven being the center of learning of the province, we do not find any efforts for a public school until 1764 on record. Yet, it is improbable to think that there were not some public schools in the province, because we hear every once in a while of the particular pains taken in educating the negro and Indian in Craven county. In 1764 we find the first public school. Rev. Mr. Reed wrote a letter, dated June 21, 1764, with this extract concerning the school at New Bern: "We have now the prospect of a very flourishing school in the town of New Bern, one which has been greatly wanted. In December Mr. Tomlinson, a young man who had kept a school in the county of Cumberland in England, came here at the invitation of his brother, an inhabitant of this parish. On the first of January he opened school in this county and immediately got as many scholars as he could instruct, and many more have lately offered than he can possibly take to do them justice. He has, therefore, sent to his friends in England to send him an assistant, and a subscription for a school house has been carried on with success. I have notes on hand payable to myself for upwards of two hundred pounds currency (120 lbs. sterling) to build a large and commodious schoolhouse in New Bern."<sup>60</sup>

In 1764 the Assembly passed an Act allowing a school house to be built in New Bern by a subscription of private citizens. This subscription was taken up by Mr. Reed, who was one of the most earnest promoters of the school. He first received the promise of the money and had great difficulty collecting it later. In May, 1765, a petition, signed by Mr. Reed, and thirty-nine principal inhabitants of New Bern and the vicinity, was sent to Governor Tryon, requesting him to represent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel the earnest desire of the petitioners that the Society would assist them by granting Mr. Tomlinson an annual stipend, in order that he might be able to continue in New Bern and instruct their children, "in such branches of useful learning as are necessary in several of the offices and stations in life, and imprint on their tender minds the principles of the Christian religion agreeable to the Estab-

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<sup>60</sup> *C. R.*, Vol I, p. 1,048.

lished Church of England." The memorial is signed by the following names: James Reed, missionary, Thos. C. Howard, Samuel Cornell, John Williams, Richard Cogdell, James Davis, Peter Cornwell, John Clitherall, Jacob Blunt, Richard Ellis, John Franck, Thos. Pollock, Bernard Parkinson, Wm. Wilton, Christ. Neale, Thos. Sitgreaves, Corn. Grosnendeyk, Jno. Green, John Fonville, Longfield Cox and many others.<sup>61</sup>

Governor Tryon forwarded this petition to the Society with his hearty approval, giving Mr. Tomlinson a high character. The Society granted him a yearly stipend of ten pounds at first, and later fifteen. Before this, he had been receiving from his thirty students sixty pounds sterling all told annually.<sup>62</sup>

The property of the school building was taken from the church which was changed for a lot better situated on the corner of Pollock and Craven Streets. There was probably only one building used as school house and residence of the instructor.<sup>63</sup> The building was started in 1765, and in 1766 we find a letter of Mr. Reed to the secretary of the Society that the building is going on slowly. In July of the same year, he writes that the house has been closed in and that the slow progress is due to the lack of money, men, and materials,—money particularly. The floors were still to be laid and the chimney to be built. That the work might not stop at this stage he drew upon the treasurer of the Society for his salary for the preceding half year, and sent the draft to New York to buy bricks for the chimney. Besides that, he made every attempt to raise more money by subscriptions.

The school house when completed was a frame structure forty-five feet long and thirty feet wide. It is probable that Mr. Tomlinson moved into this building the last of 1766 or the beginning of 1767. The school was incorporated by an Act of the Assembly in 1766.<sup>64</sup> The Act directed that the subscribers of the Academy Fund should hold a meeting on the first Tuesday in April, 1767, when they should elect eleven men of their

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<sup>61</sup> DeRossett, *Church History*, pp. 172-3.

<sup>62</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 98.

<sup>63</sup> DeRossett, p. 172.

<sup>64</sup> Moore, p. 44.

number to form a board of trustees. These trustees, when thus elected, were to constitute a closed corporation to hold the property of the school and to manage its affairs under the name and style of the "Incorporated Society for Promoting and Establishing the Public School in New Bern." The second section provides that the master shall be a member of the Episcopal Church, chosen by the trustees and licensed by the governor.

The Act further provides for an extra tax on distilled spirits of one penny per gallon on all imported into the Neuse and Trent Rivers, for the purpose of the support of the school at New Bern.<sup>65</sup> The main object of this special tax was to pay Mr. Tomlinson twenty pounds yearly towards the salary of an assistant teacher. This Act was continued in force for seven years. In consideration for the revenue thus granted to the school ten poor children, whose parents were unable to pay their tuition, should be nominated by the trustees and these children were to receive the benefits of the school free of charge. This is the only public provision ever made for the school. In 1768 Mr. Reed estimated that this duty on spirits would yield an annual income of sixty pounds, which would be sufficient to pay Mr. Tomlinson twenty pounds towards the salary of his assistant and also to supply during the seven years of his continuance a fund which would pay off all indebtedness of the trustees and enable them to complete the building.<sup>66</sup> Besides this revenue the trustees received from the Assembly twenty pounds to hold their meetings in a room of the school building. From 1769 to 1761 they received forty pounds annually from the same source.<sup>67</sup> Also there was another small income available for the purposes of the school. There were two half cut off lots from the church yard which were leased out for twenty-one years and constituted the beginning of a fund intended for the permanent endowment of the Academy. All this revenue for the school amounted to more than was expected. In March, 1772, Mr. Reed sent the following account of the income and expense of the school for the preceding three years:

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<sup>65</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 443.

<sup>66</sup> DeRossett, p. 175.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

Cr.

By net proceeds for duty on liquors .....	£	247,11, 4
Rent of school chamber by Assembly .....	£	100,00, 0
Ground rent, first payment 1771 .....	£	19,10, 0

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 £ 367,01, 4

Annual Income.....£ 122,07, 1

Dr.

To assistant master .....	£	20,00, 0
Poor scholars, ten at £4 .....	£	40,00, 0
Books, paper, and firewood .....	£	10,00, 0

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 Total ..... £ | 70,00, 0 |
 Balance for repairs ..... £ | 52,07, 1 |

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 Expense ..... £ | 122,07, 1 |

This revenue was allowed by the Assembly in payment for the good the public received from the school.

This school was the first of its kind in the colony, and the first school house established in the province by legislative authority. This school was kept open for many years after the war. But the school lost its first teacher, Mr. Tomlinson, by an act of injustice on the part of the trustees. Mr. Reed, in several letters, took the part of the instructor. He had been an admirable teacher and master of the school, according to Mr. Reed, but he believed in making the students behave and study and when they did not do this he used the only known method of compelling them to do so,—that was the switch. This offended the parents of some of the students, who were members of the board of trustees. These, according to Mr. Tomlinson, stopped his pay and he had to sue for it. The trustees discharged him, but Mr. Parrott, who was to succeed him, refused to accept the place after learning how Mr. Tomlinson had been treated, and so Mr. Tomlinson kept the school until he voluntarily retired. His retirement, according to his own letters, was caused by the action of the trustees. During the year of 1772 he left New Bern and removed to Rhode Island. Not only did Mr. Reed take sides with Tomlinson, but also Governor Martin went so far as to say that he wished that the Act incorporating the trustees would

be repealed for their conduct.<sup>68</sup> The people of New Bern and its vicinity drove away one of their best citizens.

De Rossett says: "Mr. Tomlinson must be placed at the head of the line of professional teachers whose work has gone into the history of North Carolina. There had been ministers, before his day, or contemporary with him, who, acting also as school teachers, had done and were doing an incalculable work for the State, which was to be in training to guide and govern it in its development to wealth and power, but so far as the writer is informed, Mr. Tomlinson was the first professional teacher who had under his training a large element of the youth of the colony. New Bern and the district about it were fruitful of men of eminence and of influence in the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Many of these must have laid the foundation of their intellectual and moral training in the New Bern Academy between the years 1764 and 1772, while Mr. Tomlinson presided as master."<sup>69</sup> Governor Tryon said of Mr. Tomlinson that he was the only man in the county who was a true professional school teacher. Not only was Mr. Tomlinson a great professional character in his business, but a good member of society. When North Carolina lost him it lost one of its greatest benefactors.

The New Bern Academy was established and managed according to the orders of the Church of England. The minister was the main founder of it. Mr. James Reed and the master were compelled to be members of the English Church. Yet, the people did not look upon it with any prejudice because it was a church school. This fact is shown by the names of the most prominent men of the province and county being on the list of subscribers, also as trustees and as petitioners for the salary given to Mr. Tomlinson by the Society. Again, the children of the most prominent men in the province attended school there under Mr. Tomlinson and his assistant, Mr. James McCartney. In fact, this school had the hearty support of all the people of North Carolina.

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<sup>68</sup> DeRossett, p. 176.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.



This school established in New Bern in 1764 has had more influence upon the history of the early state of North Carolina than any other institution save the University. It is a fact that the leading men of the State from 1790 to 1835 came from the eastern part around New Bern, Cape Fear, and Edenton. The majority of these men received the foundation of their training at the New Bern Academy. Too little space is given in history to that mother of schools in North Carolina.

## TRYON

INCLUDING A BRIEF SKETCH OF REGULATION MOVEMENT AS FAR  
AS IT CONCERNED CRAVEN COUNTY

In 1764 Governor Dobbs, failing in health, was relieved of his more active duties of office, they being placed upon William Tryon, who was made lieutenant-governor of North Carolina. But Governor Dobbs never left Carolina, as he intended, for in the spring of 1765 he died, and Tryon was made temporary governor of the colony until the fall. At this time he was made permanent governor by the king. He first lived in Brunswick, but later, after having his palace built in New Bern, lived there during the remainder of his stay in North Carolina.

Tryon as a man is well described by Fitch, thus: "Tryon was a soldier by profession and looked upon the sword as the true sceptre of the government. He knew when to flatter and when to threaten; he knew when discretion was the better part of valor, and when to use such force and cruelty as achieved for him from the Cherokee Indians the bloody title of 'The Great Wolf of North Carolina.' He could use courtesy towards the assembly room when he desired large appropriations for his palace; and he knew how to bring to bear blandishments of the female society of his family, and all the appliances of generous hospitality. Indeed, he did know how to bring to bear blandishments of the female society of his family."<sup>70</sup> It is said and believed by many people that his wife and her sister, Miss Wake,

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<sup>70</sup> Fitch, p. 30.



who made her home with the governor, helped and advised him in all his plans, either social or political. Mrs. Tryon and her sisters are spoken of by all the older historians as being charming and entertaining ladies.<sup>71</sup> Anyway, they had a great deal of influence over the governor, and over the social circles of the capital of the province. Miss Wake was honored by the people of Carolina by their giving her name to one of the now metropolitan counties of North Carolina. The name of the county of Tryon was changed after the Revolutionary War, but Wake county is still a memorial to his sister-in-law.

Tryon, with all the good influences around him, denied the western counties their rights. Dr. Williamson says it was a good thing for the western counties that Tryon was not bigoted. He was not an ideal governor, but he was undoubtedly the best governor who had ruled the province up to this time and up to the War of Independence. He did punish the western counties for the failure of officers to do their duty. But despite that he did more for the province than anyone before him. He was one of the main advocates for the establishment of the public school in New Bern, and partly through his efforts the Assembly chartered the Academy in 1766. He also sent several petitions to the Society for the aid of the church and schools in the province. It was indeed his misfortune that he had, in order to keep his governorship, to collect taxes, to enforce the navigation acts, and to press the Stamp Act upon the people.

The one thing that he cannot be excused of is his attitude toward the regulators. He allowed them representatives in the Assembly until Herman Husband, the representative from Orange county, when asked why his people did not pay their taxes, threw the tax money on the table before the governor and remarked: "I brought it to keep it from dwindling, seeing that when passing through so many fingers it, like a cake of soap, grows less at each handling." Tryon eyed him, and after the disapproval of his council, had Chief Justice Howard, who was a member of the council, to issue a warrant for his apprehension, and had him placed in the jail at New Bern where he was con-

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<sup>71</sup> Moore, p. 41.

fined for a few days. He was released only when the governor heard that two hundred regulators had crossed Haw River and were marching to New Bern to free him.<sup>72</sup> In fact, the governor had fortifications erected and Colonel Leach with his troops placed in the trenches to protect New Bern from the Regulators. Tryon, in order to have a secure hold on him, brought an indictment against him that he might have him tried in New Bern by a grand jury of the New Bern precinct. This jury failed to find a bill against Husband and he was dismissed. Even though the governor used his greatest energy against him, and, for the purpose of turning the people of the east,—especially Craven,—against the Regulators, it took him from April, 1769, to February, 1771, to find a jury who returned a true bill against Husband.<sup>73</sup>

Again, the existing conditions in each part were different without any communication. Tryon, the hater of the Regulators, lived in the east and practically controlled many of the leaders. The people of Craven county were not expected to show sympathy for the people of the west, since Tryon lived in the east. Yet besides the refusal to find a true bill against Husband by the people of New Bern district, the militia of Craven county for three days refused to march against him. Tryon, speaking of the Craven militia, said that the militia was not to be relied upon.<sup>74</sup> In 1770 Tryon started his campaign against the Regulators in earnest. The militia of Craven and Beaufort under Leach formed the right wing of the front. Craven in all had four companies of infantry and one of artillery. These played a conspicuous part in the whole campaign of Tryon. Several members of the militia from Craven county were killed in the battle of Alamance. One officer that was killed there was ensign William Bryan, of Craven county.

### TRYON'S PALACE

On November 24, 1766, the Assembly passed a bill for the erection of a convenient building within the town of New Bern for the residence of the governor and commander-in-chief for the

<sup>72</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VIII, p. 500.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. iv.

<sup>74</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VIII, p. 546.

time being.<sup>75</sup> This bill was said to have been suggested by the king first, but Tryon was the main power that pushed it through the Assembly with the aid of his friends and relations. The execution of the bill was put under his orders and directions solely.<sup>76</sup> The governor's tastes and desires for luxury were paid for by the collection of almost intolerable taxes from the people of the province, who had few resources and less money. The building of the palace had many results. First, it made the people of both the east and west look upon Tryon as a man seeking only self-elevation, and caused them to complain bitterly against the taxes. This was the first step that led the people to revolt so soon against the undue oppression of the king. It was a great thing for New Bern and Craven county because it brought the officials of the province into the county and made the social circles of Craven the best in the province. Again, it brought trade to New Bern and put some little money into circulation. Also, it helped to make Tryon known to all America.

Tryon estimated that it would cost about £14,710, but when the building was completed it was at an expense of £17,845 besides the furniture. When it was finished and the governor moved in, it had cost the people of North Carolina at least £20,000,—or \$100,000. Tryon procured John Hawkes to superintend the construction of it. He had come to America with Tryon and was a near relative to the Dr. Hawks, historian, who lived in New Bern.<sup>77</sup> Skilled artisans came from Philadelphia to do the work. The work on the mansion began August 26, 1767. In December Tryon reported that the work was being steadily pushed ahead for completion. And in October, 1770, it was completed and the governor moved in. In January the public records were moved into the palace.<sup>78</sup>

It was situated on a square of six acres condemned land bounded by Eden, Metcalf, and Pollock Streets and Trent River.<sup>79</sup> The present George Street was part of the walk that led to the main building.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 320.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

<sup>77</sup> Haywood, 64.

<sup>78</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 695.

<sup>79</sup> Vass, p. 90.

Almost all the material came from England, especially bricks and prepared material. Even the plumbers and their lead to the amount of eight tons came from London.<sup>80</sup>

The contract that was made called for a two-story main building, but by the authority of some one it was made a three-story one, eighty-seven feet high in front, and fifty-nine feet wide. This main building was the governor's headquarters, the right wing a two-story building of some expensive material and workmanship was the secretary's office. The left wing resembling the right in every particular was the servant's headquarters. The three buildings were connected by covered colonnades, of five columns each. "Between the two wings in front of the main building was a handsome court. The rear of the building was finished in the style of the Mansion House in London.<sup>81</sup> The ends of the buildings were beautifully decorated with statues, and other work of sculpture. Marble from Italy was not spared, because of price, but used freely. The ball room was not forgotten, because it was there that Tryon, as Maurice Moore says, acted too much like a ruler. In the council chamber there was a handsomely-designed chimney piece, containing decorations of Ionic statuary, with columns of Sienna, the fretwork of frieze being also inlaid with the latter material. In addition to this, and above the whole, were richly ornamental marble tablets, on which were the medallions of King George and his queen.<sup>82</sup>

Over the door of antechamber was a Latin verse showing that it was dedicated to Sir William Draper, in translation by Martin Means; it read:

"In the reign of a monarch, who goodness disclosed,  
A free happy people, to dread tyrants opposed,  
Have to virtue and merit erected this dome;  
May the owner and household make the loved home,  
Where religion, the arts and laws may invite,  
Future ages to live in sweet peace and delight."<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VIII. pp. 7-8.

<sup>81</sup> Vass, p. 91.

<sup>82</sup> Haywood, p. 65.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

The main part and left wing were burned in 1798. The right wing remains today, and is used as a residence by a family named Duffy.

This palace was by far the most splendid in North America, and if we can believe the unfortunate General Don Francisco de Miranda, of South America, who visited the edifice in 1783, in company of Judge Martin, there was not one in South America which could come up with it. He said: "Even in South America, a land of palaces, it has no equal."<sup>84</sup> Tryon only enjoyed his mansion a year when he went to New York.

### NEW BERN

New Bern, the county seat of Craven county and the capital of the province for many years was the largest town in North Carolina up until the war and afterwards. In 1777, Mr. Watson on his journey passed through New Bern said then there were about a hundred and fifty houses. In 1796 Mr. Winterbothan says, "New Bern is the largest town in the State. It contains about four hundred houses all built of wood save the palace, jail, church and two residences. . . . The Episcopal Church is a small brick building with a bell."<sup>85</sup>

New Bern is thought to have been laid off in May or June, 1710, by Colonel Thomas Pollock and John Lawson. It is situated on a neck of land at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent Rivers. It is bounded on one side by the Neuse and on the other by the Trent, and on the back by Jack Smith Creek. The place was formerly called Chattawka from the Indians who lived there and who were in alliance with the Tuscaroras, with whom, in 1715, they went to New York.<sup>86</sup> De Graffenried purchased it from King Taylor and changed the name to New Bern in honor of his and Mitchell's birthplace. For the first year it seems that things went well with New Bern, other settlers besides the Swiss and Palatines, chiefly English, settled there and there was a decided step forward in prosperity.<sup>87</sup> The people of New Bern

<sup>84</sup> Fitch, p. 45.

<sup>85</sup> Winterbothan History of N. C., Vol. III, p. 199.

<sup>86</sup> *North Carolina Booklet*, Vol. I, p. 12.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*



received a severe blow by the Indian massacre of 1711, but recovered. In 1714 De Graffenried mortgaged the land on which New Bern stands to Thomas Pollock for the sum of eight hundred pounds. Pollock willed it to his son Cullen.<sup>88</sup> As soon as De Graffenried mortgaged his land he left for England, leaving the colony in a bad condition. The colonists were sorry to see him leave but the town which he had founded did not languish under the new regime. Houses were built, streets were laid off and fields cleared, soon houses stretched from one river to the other.

In 1723 New Bern was fixed as seat of Craven precinct and a bill passed the Assembly for the building of a court house there. In 1723 New Bern was incorporated as the third town in the province and was really the only town, since, as Dr. Hawks says, Bath was only a hamlet and Edenton was smaller than it.

In 1729 New Bern remained the county seat. In 1736 the quit rents of both Craven and Carteret counties were paid at New Bern in gold or silver.<sup>89</sup> New Bern was the seat of all courts, the supreme court of Craven, Carteret, Johnston, Beaufort and Hyde. The Court of Chancery was held in New Bern on the first Tuesday in December and June. This was started in 1736 by Governor Johnston. The courts of Oyer and Terminer were held there also on the third Tuesday in April and October. It was there that the land office was kept open for three weeks so that the governor could listen to and settle land disputes.

In a letter of Governor Johnston, dated 1763, he says, "But I hope we shall be more regular for the future, for in a recent Assembly held at Wilmington I have got a law passed for fixing the seat of government at New Bern, and a tax for a public building."<sup>90</sup> Before the passage of this bill the Assembly and courts had been held at Edenton, near the border of Virginia, while the representatives were mostly from Cape Fear section. The governor attended several of the meetings but he could not force the majority of the council to leave

<sup>88</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. IV, p. 186.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 844.



their business and plantations for three times a year and travel backward and forward twelve hundred miles when they had neither salary nor reward for so doing. This was the main reason why he got the law passed at Wilmington for fixing the General Assembly and courts at New Bern, the center of the province. The passage of this bill caused a disturbance in several places.<sup>91</sup> Bath, Wilmington, and Edenton all were jealous of New Bern. Each wanted to be the capital of the province.

The Assembly met for the first time in New Bern in 1736 and continued to meet there until about 1749.

New Bern flourished while it was the capital, many rich merchants lived there. The best people of the province moved there. Trade increased and the town grew at a rapid rate. But as soon as the public business was carried away complaints were heard among its people which is shown by an extract from a letter by John Campbell to Richard Cogdell of New Bern dated 1761.<sup>92</sup>

“The account of the dullness of your town and business in it I am sorry for, but the thinking people in it and about it must thank themselves who drove away the government officers. These people could not bear a little flow of money, but grew so proud and insolent. They will feel the reverse and now may reflect on themselves when too late.”

It is true that the people of New Bern did not take the interest they should have in preparing for the officers. Governor Johnston says in a letter dated December 28, 1748, “One mighty inconvenience we have to struggle with at present is that nobody cares to lay in provisions for man or horse at New Bern though it is the most fruitful and central part of the province, such pains are taken to assure the people that the seat of government will be removed, when they get five members restored, but no one cares for advancing money to entertain the public, so that in a fortnight or three weeks’ time we are obliged to separate for want of the necessaries of life. Things would soon take another change if this point was determined.”<sup>93</sup> The inhabitants

<sup>91</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. IV, p. 1086.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 844.

<sup>93</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. 4, p. 1166.

of New Bern did not realize what was the benefit of being the capital until it was removed, which took place between 1746 and 1750. Between 1750 and 1762 the Assembly was held in no special town. When Dobbs became governor he appointed Tower Hill on the Neuse as capital in 1758. The people petitioned the king to make New Bern capital again because it was more central, better located and had better navigation facilities than Tower Hill.<sup>94</sup> Yet some people objected to having it for capital because of its hot climate and unhealthy atmosphere. Finally in 1766 New Bern was selected as the permanent capital of North Carolina and the palace was built there.<sup>95</sup>

The effects of the capital being moved there were immediately felt. In 1767 we have a report which says that trade was increasing rapidly.<sup>96</sup> In 1772, two years after the palace was completed, Tryon says, "New Bern is growing rapidly into significance in spite of the great natural difficulties of the navigation leading to it, and its importance, I hope, will become greater as the spirit of improvement."<sup>97</sup> New Bern had a large trade, its harbor was always full of boats or vessels from Virginia, Bermuda and the West Indies and New England. It exported great quantities of tar, pitch, turpentine and other naval supplies direct to England, also large quantities of corn, beeswax, hams, and deerskins were shipped from New Bern.<sup>98</sup> New Bern was on a post road which began at Suffolk, Virginia, came down by Roanoke, Pamlico River, Bath, through New Bern on to South Carolina by New River, Wilmington and Brunswick. Thirty-eight miles of this route was in Mr. James Davis' charge for mails. For his service he received annually one hundred and six pounds, six shillings and eight pence.

On August 15, 1769, a terrible storm struck New Bern. The banks of the rivers were washed down, warehouses were smashed open and their goods floated away. Some three persons were killed. One man, describing it to a friend, says: "New Bern is really now a spectacle, her streets full of the tops of houses,

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 875.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 44.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 499.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 281.

<sup>98</sup> Vass, p. 89.

timbers, shingles, dry goods, barrels, and hogsheads, most of them empty rubbish, in so much you can hardly pass along,—a few days ago so flourishing.”<sup>99</sup> Crops, cattle, sheep, hogs, were washed away and destroyed. There was no place on the coast that suffered like New Bern. One entire street was destroyed. The printing office of Mr. James Davis was destroyed with all the type, papers, and what money he had. New Bern was not able to pay the expenses of this storm for a while, but soon caught up and surpassed her former position.

New Bern besides her commercial business had other businesses, namely, manufacturing. In 1772 Mr. Richard Graham set up a pot and pearlash factory which helped New Bern greatly. In 1775 New Bern had one of the only two rum distilleries in North Carolina, it turned out annually two hundred hogsheads of rum, made from molasses. The other one was at Wilmington and had a capacity of five hundreds hogsheads annually.<sup>100</sup>

New Bern was not only the largest town in the province, the seat of the government, the great commercial and manufacturing town, but also the seat of the best education, religion, and social circle of the province.

In 1767 the New Bern Academy was chartered, which was in New Bern, and the first of its kind in the province. Also there were several private schools there.

The social circle of New Bern was composed of the government officials, rich merchants and the wealthiest people of the province.

The people of New Bern were as we shall see ready to rebel against unjust oppression. Here happened in 1765 the New Bern Stamp Act Riot. In 1775 the people seized the guns from the palace court. And in 1775 the first two provincial congresses were held there. New Bern indeed played a great part in the history of Craven county, of North Carolina, both before and after the War of Independence.

<sup>99</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VIII, p. 74.

<sup>100</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1, 4.

## PEOPLE OF CRAVEN COUNTY

The first people of Craven County, as we have seen, were half wild northern hunters, as I have found the Blounts. These were as free as the country in which they lived. Brave, bold, and not to be oppressed were the qualities or characteristics of these early hunters and scattered families. They lived mostly on game from the forest and fish from the rivers. These were obtained with little effort and did not encourage thrift and activeness in the people. These were the only inhabitants until 1707, except a few English who strayed across the Neuse after 1690.

The first real colony that settled in Craven was the French Protestants, which in 1690 fled from France to Virginia because of religious persecution, thence to Craven, because of its wealth in soil, plants, game, and freedom. They brought their ministers with them. These French settlers were a religious, God-fearing, liberty-loving people. They were, as a whole, industrious and thrifty. Lawson says that they were indeed a very industrious people,<sup>101</sup> soberly behaved, and having the advantages of education and being very bright. In general the women were the most industrious sex in that place, and saved money by making their linens and woollens. The men were aided by nature to such an extent that they did not have to labor hard to provide for their families.

The next, as we have seen, were the German Palatines,—a practical, smart, determined, and free people. Their object in coming was religious freedom and personal liberty. In company with them were the Swiss, from the fatherland of democracy, a free country, a free people. Indeed, they were the most liberty-loving people of all the colonists. They were also religious, God-fearing people. They, too, were an industrious, capable people. In the same year with the Swiss came the small groups of Welsh Quakers and settled in Craven.

After 1710 the new colonists of Craven were English, except in 1732 another cluster of German immigrants landed in New

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<sup>101</sup> Lawson, p. 141.

Bern. The English need no description by me, their characteristics being well known.

Here in such a small extent of territory as colonial Craven county were four elements that, if mixed, would be the best mixture that could be made. They did mix, and they did make one of the most religious, liberty-loving people that have been found in the colonies, although each race produced its great men of Craven county in North Carolina.

Bancroft says: "North Carolina was settled by the freest of the free, bravest of the brave. The settlers were gentle in their tempers, of serene minds, enemies to violence and bloodshed."<sup>102</sup> "North Carolina was the most free and independent country ever organized by man. Freedom of conscience, exempted from taxes save by their own consent . . . these simple people were as free as the air of their country, and when oppressed, as rough as the billows of the ocean."

The people of Craven county submitted to the laws of British rule so long as they were just, but as soon as their rights were stepped upon that spirit of freedom broke forth first in the Stamp Act Riot of 1765, and continued to show itself throughout the war, and still shows itself.

The people of Craven county, as in the other sections of the province, were divided into three classes: First, the educated abroad before or after coming to America. Craven had more of this class than the other counties of Carolina because all the government offices were there. Second, were the men who had made fortunes in land or such. Craven had many of these, especially rich merchants and land-owners, and with that many slaves. We find from reading the wills that this class was predominant in Craven. Third, the common people, farmers and so forth, Craven had her share of these.<sup>103</sup>

Life in Craven, as well as in the other eastern counties, was gay. The log houses of the first settlers by 1729 were mostly done away with and in their places were the frame and brick houses. These houses soon were well furnished, and silver

<sup>102</sup> Fitch p. 25.

<sup>103</sup> Hawks, II, p. 572.



spoons and other such articles were often seen. The stables were full of horses for riding purposes. And nature furnished the eatables with no lax hand. Among the first and second class wealth abounded and was appreciated. But in all the classes hospitality was unbounded, and weddings and other social occasions were largely attended. New Bern was the residence of the higher class, who attended the splendid balls given by Tryon, and those, in return, given by the rich merchants. In fact, New Bern was the gayest, liveliest, and busiest town in the province. Imported wines, rum from the West Indies, and negro fiddlers added charms to the midnight revelry of all classes. The curled and powdered gentlemen and the ladies in their hoops were never so pleased as in walking a minuet or betting at a rubber of whist. Horse racing and fox chasing were in high favor as a pastime.

The roads to Craven and other counties were very bad. There was a road from New Bern to Bath. Communication was bad, but the people from all the sections of the country overcame the difficulties and went to New Bern to see and take part in the balls given by Tryon. Craven county, after 1736, was the center of gaiety. Even though it seemed as if the people of Craven were given to too much revelry, they were not taken up so much with it that they did not flourish in wealth, number, and moral laws.

## WAR MOVEMENTS

We are not surprised in finding the people of eastern North Carolina, especially those of Craven county, revolting against oppression since they were people of such traits of character as we have seen in the previous chapter. In Craven one of the first actions against unjust taxation leaning towards force took place.

Between 1735 and 1740, when Johnston was governor, Granville's land agents were making trouble with the colonists, and lawful taxes were doubled many times. The currency was scarce, and gold and silver were hardly ever seen and not enough English money to pay the taxes. Contentions frequently arose be-



tween the rulers and the ruled. When Tryon came, although he was a good ruler in some respects, he made the burden of the colonists more grievous. In the year 1765 the British Parliament passed the odious "Stamp Act," another source of obtaining money from the colonists without their consent. This was more than the liberty-loving people of eastern North Carolina could bear. Meetings were held from one end of the province to the other, in which they expressed their indignation and declared that they would not submit to the law.

The speaker in the Assembly told the governor that the law would be resisted to "blood and death." All this had to have a climax which was brought about by the citizens of Cape Fear combined with those of New Bern, under the lead of Colonel Ashe and Waddell, both of New Hanover.

The Stamp Act was passed and was attempted to be enforced. Dr. William Houston was appointed stamp distributor of Carolina and he came to North Carolina as the guest of Governor Tryon. The people of New Hanover learned of his presence in Brunswick. Immediately a body of men under Ashe and Waddell marched to Brunswick. There they went to the house of Tryon, surrounded it, and demanded to speak with the stamp agent. Tryon at first refused to allow this. Preparations were made to set his house on fire and he realized that the people were in earnest and he invited Colonel Ashe or Waddell into his residence. He boldly entered and in a few minutes returned with the stamp distributor. Tryon was made a prisoner in his own home, while Houston was hurried to Wilmington, where he resigned as stamp agent and took an oath never to sell another stamp. This occurred on November 14, 1765.<sup>104</sup> The next day, November 15, 1765, the people of New Bern and its vicinity had become so enraged that encouraged by the actions of the Cape Fear people they gathered into a mob, while the Superior Court was being held they tried, condemned, hanged, and burned Dr. William Houston in effigy. A riot followed in which no great damage was done. This riot is known as the

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<sup>104</sup> Fitch, p. 36.

New Bern riot of 1765. Not only in Craven, but elsewhere was the same thing done. From an extract of a letter in *C. R.* Vol. VII, p. 125, we find: "We hear from the inhabitants of that place (New Bern) that they tried, condemned, hanged, and burned Dr. William Houston in effigy, during the sitting of their Superior Court. . . . Also it happened in Wilmington . . . At Cross Creek 'tis said they hanged his effigy and McCarter's together (who murdered his wife). Nor have they spared him in Duplin, his own county."

In 1774 the Boston Port Bill was passed, which caused the port of Boston to be closed. Soon a cry for aid was sent out by the people of Boston. The people of New Bern and Craven county quickly responded. A great deal of provisions were collected from Craven and sent to Salem for the relief of Boston. On January 27, 1775, we find this notice in the *Gazette*: "Public notice is hereby given that Mr. John Green and Mr. John Wright Stanley, merchants in New Bern, have agreed with and are appointed by the committee of Craven county to receive the subscriptions which are now or may hereafter be raised in the said county for the relief of the distressed inhabitants of Boston, and to ship the same to Salem as soon as the several subscriptions are received.

"Proper stores are provided for by the said gentlemen for the reception of corn, peas, pork, and such articles as the subscribers may choose to pay their subscription in.

"Those gentlemen, therefore, who have taken subscriptions either in money or effects, are desired to direct the same to be paid or delivered to the above Messrs. Green and Stanley on or before the middle of March next, and to send as soon as possible an account of the subscriptions to be taken and are taken by which they may be governed in receiving.—R. Cogdell, Chairman."<sup>105</sup>

On August 26, 1774, the first provincial congress was held. At first it was planned to be held at Johnston Court House, but it was changed and held in New Bern at the above date. Craven had four members: Coor, Cogdell, Abner Nash, and Edwards.

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<sup>105</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. IX, p. xxxviii.

This Congress met in spite of the orders of Governor Martin forbidding such a meeting.<sup>106</sup>

On August 9, 1774, the Friends of American Liberty called a meeting of the people of Craven county at New Bern. In this meeting members for the provincial congress were elected.<sup>107</sup>

The second provincial congress was held on April 3, 1775, at New Bern. Craven was represented by James Coor, Lemuel Hatch, Jacob Blunt, William Bryan, Richard Cogdell, Jacob Leach. New Bern by Abner Nash and James Davis. At the third provincial congress held at Hillsboro August 20, 1775, Craven was represented by Coor, Bryan, Cogdell, Leach, Blunt, and Edmond Hatch, New Bern, by Nash, Davis, William Tisdale, and Richard Ellis. At the fourth one held at Halifax, April 4, 1776, Craven was represented by the same men as at Hillsboro. New Bern only sent one, Abner Nash. In each of these congresses the representatives of Craven and New Bern took an active part.

On May 23, 1775, right after the news of the battle of Lexington had reached New Bern, the committee of safety, which consisted of Dr. Alex Gaston, Richard Cogdell, John Easton, Major Croom, Roger Ormond, Edward Saltee, George Burrow, and James Glasgow, led by Cogdell, and backed up by the entire population of Craven county, waited upon the governor. Their mission was to ask him to remount the cannon that were in the town and at the palace. Martin had had them dismounted because he had heard that the committee was to sieze them as was done later. He prevaricated, however, as to his purpose, and seemingly satisfied the committee for the moment, but only for the moment as he well knew.

Martin realized that the end had fully come; he saw that without a man or a gun he was no longer a governor but was a prisoner in his own palace under strictest surveillance, and that his only resort was immediate flight. Therefore he immediately

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<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.* p. xxv.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1041.

shipped his family to New York and almost at the same time sought safety under the protection of the British boats in the Cape Fear. In less than four years from his coming as governor of the province he was a fugitive from his capitol. A capitol he would never see again. He was flying for his liberty if not for his life. Thus the people were the direct agents that brought about the end of the royal authority in North Carolina.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Wheeler, *Remiscences of North Carolina*, p. 129.

<sup>109</sup> *C. R.*, Vol. IX, p. xxxvi.







THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

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BY WILLIAM ATTMORE, 1787

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JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO NORTH CAROLINA  
BY WILLIAM ATTMORE, 1787

EDITED BY  
LIDA TUNSTALL RODMAN



## PREFACE

The "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina," written by William Attmore, of Philadelphia, was a cherished possession of his great-granddaughter, the late Miss Rebecca Attmore, of New Bern, N. C. She was a real "Belle of the Fifties," who in character and person reflected the charm of that classic type of Southern womanhood that authors delight to picture.

Thomas Attmore of Devonshire, England, Parish of Kentslean, born about 1692, who removed to America in 1713, was the grandfather of William Attmore, merchant of Philadelphia, of the firm of "Attmore & Kaigher." In the winter of 1787, William Attmore came to North Carolina to collect debts owing to his firm and to obtain new business. While on his tour he kept a diary, of which some parts have evidently been lost, but enough remains to form an interesting narrative. The handwriting of the original manuscript is clear and beautiful, and the ink as black as though it had been penned yesterday instead of over a century ago. Only the paper has become faded and torn by age.

On this "tour," or a subsequent one, William Attmore met Miss Sallie Sitgreaves, the captivating daughter of Judge Sitgreaves<sup>1</sup>, to whom he was married March 18, 1790. He died in Philadelphia in 1800, and was buried there.

The names of some of the descendants of William Attmore and Sallie Sitgreaves who have lived in North Carolina in more recent years are:

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<sup>1</sup>The name of William Sitgreaves occurs among the signers of a memorial to the Lords Proprietors in 1755. (Col. Rec. vol. V p. 32). John Sitgreaves was one of his descendants and resided in New Bern; he was a lawyer of culture and high attainments. Wheeler's history says 'he was appointed Lieutenant by the State Congress in 1776, in Captain Cassel's company. He was in the battle of Camden, August 1780, as aid to Governor Caswell. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1784, and from 1787 to 1789 in the Legislature from New Bern. He was appointed U. S. District Judge of North Carolina by Washington. Jefferson's private journal has the following:—"1789. Hawkins recommended John Sitgreaves as a very clever gentleman, of good deportment, well skilled in the law for a man of his age, and should he live long enough, he will be an ornament to his profession. Spaight and Blount concurring, he was nominated.' He died at Halifax in 1802 where he lies buried." (Wheeler's Hist. p 119.)

1. Hannah Taylor Attmore m. Wm. Hollister Oliver 185— their children—
  - a. George Attmore Oliver died unmarried 19—;
  - b. Elizabeth Geteg Oliver m. Martin Stevenson Willard of Wilmington, N. C. died leaving no children;
  - c. Mary Taylor Oliver, New Bern, N. C.;
  - d. Hannah Attmore Oliver m. Benjamin Huske, Fayetteville;
  - e. Martha Harvey Oliver m. Thomas Constable, Charlotte;
2. Sitgreaves Attmore served in the Confederate States Army, was captured and imprisoned. He died from the harsh treatment he received;
3. Isaac Taylor Attmore served in the Confederate States Army, and was killed in battle;
4. Rebecca Christine Attmore never married, died 19—;
5. Sallie Sitgreaves Attmore m. Robert Stewart Primrose;
  - a. their son Dr. Robert S. Primrose, New Bern, N. C.;
6. George Sitgreaves Attmore m. Kate Lane, Bayboro, N. C.;
  - a. Hannah Oliver Attmore;
  - b. George Sitgreaves Attmore;
  - c. Taylor Bynum Attmore.

Interesting family relics are two miniatures owned by Mrs. Thomas Constable; one represents the wife of Judge Sitgreaves, the other is a memorial of the Sitgreaves men who served in the Revolution. Mrs. Benjamin Huske owns a list or record, of lands held by the Attmore family in England dating from 1337, copied from the records in the Tower of London, and other quaint documents.

The notes to the journal furnish other interesting data in regard to some of the persons and places mentioned.

LIDA T. RODMAN.

WASHINGTON, N. C.

NOVEMBER, 1921.



## THE JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO NORTH CAROLINA

*Tuesday, November 6, 1787.* ABOUT 11 O'Clock A M I went onboard the Sloop Washington Packet, Captain Charles Kirby, Master, bound on a Voyage to Washington in North Carolina after being onboard a little while the boat being sent to the Shore I took that opportunity to land again, to get some further stores for the Voyage as yet omitted, and after waiting some time till about 1 o'clock, our Captain came down, we rowed onboard and directly hoisted Sail,—Upon enquiry find our Company onboard to be as follows,

CHARLES KIRBY, <i>Captain</i> ;	JAMES EASTON	} Passengers
WILLIAM HEST, <i>Mate</i> ;	BENJAMIN BROWN	
DANIEL,	PETER MACKIE,	
WILLIAM	WILLIAM ATTMORE,	
JOHN,	SYLVIA EASTON, a	
JAMES	little Girl.	
JAMES, Cook,—	ROSE, a black Girl servant to Sylvia.	

No remarkable occurrence happened this afternoon altho' I, like Don Quixote watching for adventures; unless I record that one of the Seamen lost his Cap while busy getting in the Anchor. This was a very fine day, the Wind being from North to North East, we had a pleasant Sail by Gloucester Point, League Island, Mud Island, Little and Big Tinicum Islands—we amused ourselves from time to time eating Beef and drinking Grog upon the Quarter Deck, chatting and playing—

After dark we came to, below Chester;—When the Ebb began, our Pilot, Gilbert McCracken turned out, and got the Sloop under way till about four O'Clock in the Morning, by this time it became so foggy, it became dangerous to proceed, and therefore cast

Anchor in 4 fathom Water; supposing ourselves a little above Christiana Creek.

*Wednesday, November 7.* At 11 O'Clock A. M. the Fog cleared away, and we found ourselves off Wilmington—At 12, the Ebb beginning we hove up Anchor and made Sail; passed a Brig coming in, having hurricane houses on deck.—And a number Shallops and Boats. Came to, alongside the Wharff at Newcastle and received onboard Mr. William Ford, a Passenger, with his Baggage. I went ashore and paid a visit to Thomas Kean Esqr Sheriff of New Castle County, drank a bottle of Wine with him at his house; then he came onboard with me we sat down in the Cabbin where we treated him with such as we had—We got into good humour; when our Captain came down and let my visitor know that he was sorry to disturb him, but that we were then half a Mile from Newcastle—Mr. Kean went ashore in the Boat in Company with Mr Mackie—We dropt about two Miles below Newcastle, then let go Anchor—Here we lay all Night, there coming on a thick Fog in the Night which prevented our making Sail—We dismissed our pilot at Newcastle, Capt. Kirby undertaking to pilot the Sloop down the rest of the way.

*Thursday, November 8.* As we lay at Anchor hailed a Sloop going by us, and finding they were from New York with Oysters, sent our boat onboard, and got 7 or 8 bushels at 2/9, per bushel—Mackie and Ford who went in the Boat with two Seamen, stopt at Newcastle,—They rowed down under Shore where Ford luckily found a Man who brought him a Message—They then returned onboard.—

At half past 11, O'Clock got up Anchor, and hoisted Sail; but little Wind; hazy Weather, comes on again and some rain at half past Twelve—This forenoon the Brige<sup>e</sup> Charleston Packet, Capt. Strong passed us as we lay at Anchor—A Ship appears stretching up 4 or 5 Miles off, who must have passed us in the Fog this Morning early.

At 3 O'Clock in the Afternoon, being about half way between Reedy Point and Reedy Island about a mile from the Delaware Shore, the Ebb being strong, little wind since we weighed Anchor,

having had Boat ahead towing since we got up Anchor—we found the Tide set us fast toward a Shoal or spit of Land lying off; cast the Lead, and at the last throw by the Captain found but 9 feet Water; he immediately ordered to let go the Anchor; this was done directly; but force of the Tide was such, the Cable instantly parted, and we directly grounded on the Shoal, at about half Tide—a very little distance from our Anchor—After getting in Sails, our Seamen went in the Boat & weighed our Anchor by the Buoy Rope, with very little difficulty, and brought it onboard. Here we lay till about Sunrise next day, having got out another anchor.

*Friday, November 9.* This Morning there being a light breeze to take us off the Shoal, we got up Anchor our Boat ahead to Tow; we got over to the Channel—towards the Delaware Shore: and the Flood being strong and the Wind rather ahead came again to Anchor, waiting for the Tide to go down to the Piers—We all turn'd out this Morning about Sunrise, a very fine Morning—Vast flocks of Blackbirds in sight going from Reedy Island to the Main:

About 1 O'Clock in the afternoon we came to, at the Piers, and made fast to the outermost Pier without letting go an Anchor—After getting Dinner, the Captain, Easton, Brown, Mackie, Ford, and myself went ashore (the Captain resolving to wait for a Wind to go down the Bay in the Morning) we went up to the Town of Port Penn and amused ourselves 'till the Evening when we all came onboard.

We found the Cabbin nearly cleaned up against our return by orders of the Mate—

The Piers of Reedy Island, as they are generally called, are not built at Reedy Island but on the shore of the Delaware opposite to the body of that Island, and consists of first a long Wharff joining to the Main, then of *three square* piers composed of Logs, and filled up with Stones and Dirt; sunk in a row, at nearly equal distances from each other opposite that long Wharff, leaving an interval or thoroughfare for the waste to pass betwixt them, about 70 or 80 feet wide between each pier or Wharff; the whole forming a kind of Mole or Jettee above 300 feet out into the River—The use of these Piers is to form a Harbour for Vessels

against the dangers of the Ice in Winter, And it is found to answer the purpose very well; last Winter above 50 Sail found shelter there till the navigation was clear.

I should have mentioned that on the north side of the other Piers at some distance another Pier is sunk to serve as a kind of outwork to the others in breaking the Force of the Ice coming down.

Reedy Island is about 3 miles long and not above a quarter of a Mile wide—It has formerly been banked in, but at present is not in culture but overflowed in high Tides—

About half a mile above the Piers, lies the Village of Port Penn, consisting of 30 or 40 Houses, it is on the River side and directly opposite the upper end of Reedy Island—The River is 6 Miles over.—

After getting onboard, we spent the Evening very gaily—Mirth and festivity smiled around us—Every Man endeavor'd to contribute to the general pleasure—And every attempt in these cases is received with favour.

*Saturday, November 10.* At about half past 12 O'Clock, we cast off from the Pier, and got down to Bombay Hook in the night—Let go Anchor—Then weigh'd about break of day and stood down the Bay; Many Vessels in sight—passed two Brigs & a Schooner that were coming up,—hailed the Schooner found her to be from Newbern, 15 days out, Capt. Hudson.—

We overtook and passed a Copper bottom Schooner with a crowd of Canvas—One of our Seamen seeing her look so gay, gave her the name of the Macaw Schooner—

Towards Dusk came to Anchor in the Bay about 20 Miles above the Light House; the sky to the South and West looked very black and louring which gave us considerable apprehension of a severe Gale in the night;—We let go our best Bower and prepared for it in the best manner we could. Our whole Company looked very blank and melancholy; quite a contrast to the gaiety of last evening—The Wind pretty fresh. The Shoals in Delaware Bay are mark'd to Mariners by Beacons and Buoys—

*Sunday, November 11.* Contrary to our expectations, we had no Gale last night, and got early under way, and passed down the Bay and out to Sea with a favourable Gale—About 9 O'Clock A M we passed the Light House at Cape Henlopen about 2 Miles distance—We stood out to Sea, South east, & then stood to the Southward, our Captain intending to keep near the Coast: When in mid Channel one can see both Capes, but cannot see from one Cape to the other if one is ashore there.—

After getting a little past the Light House, I began to grow Sea Sick, with the usual symptoms, Mackie also sick, & likewise black Rose. The rest of our Company well.

*Monday, November 12.* I still continue indisposed, and have eat but little, these two days—one's stomach nauseates solid food while Sea Sickness lasts—The Sea much smoother today than yesterday, The reflection of a blue Sky makes the Water appear of a greenish Colour. When there is a cloudy Sky the Water appears of an azure or blue Colour.—

*Tuesday, November 13.* Today we are nearly well—Mackie and I eat our allowance at Breakfast with a pretty good appetite. About 9 O'Clock, the Sea smooth and the Weather hazy we made the Land, supposed about 30 Miles to the southward of Cape Henry—We stood in within about half a Mile of the Shore, and Surf, 6 fathom Water. We have been trying this morning for some Fish, but had no success. We passed Currituck Inlet today—In the Evening we stood off shore, heaving about when within a quarter of a mile of the Shore—We saw 7 or 8 Craft standing up the Coast, we suppose them bound to Norfolk.

Hailed two of them,—answer'd from New Inlet—It has been warm and pleasant today—Aired the Cabbin and Bed Clothes.—

*Wednesday, November 14.* Rose at Sunrise—A very fine day—After some time standing in for the Land, find ourselves off Roanoke Island and Inlet—But little Wind all the Morning—The Wind all day ahead, what we gain on one Tack, we nearly lose on another—Saw several Whales, and diverted ourselves with observing their Spouting and blowing—One passed our bows within Musquet Shot. Flocks of Gulls about us—Tried again for Fish, bottle



with Tow Line and Deepsea, but cannot catch one, We are now about 40 Miles from Cape Hatteras which we wish to get round, but this contrary Wind baffles us—In the Afternoon the Wind freshens on us, but still ahead—

*Thursday, November 15.* About 3 O'Clock in the Morning came on a Squall and rough Sea, which lasted till about 9 O'Clock; in the Morning—I am again Sick—Wind still ahead—Find by observation at noon that we have gained but 11 Miles southing in 24 Hours past—

*Friday, November 16.* Wind still ahead,—A very brisk Wind and rough Sea today—Spoke a Sloop bound from New York to Edenton.—A brig in sight. A Whale & Sword Fish pass us. I am again sick from the rough Sea—In the evening came on rain—And fell calm; our Vessel rolled and pitched very much—The Captain and people being on deck about 8 or 9 O'Clock, the night dark, in hoisting the Boom from the Larboard to the Starboard crutch, the Boom swinging over crushed the head of one of the Seamen, John , between it and the Starboard crutch in a shocking manner; the poor Man fell on the Deck, and afterwards bled from his Mouth Nose and Ears many Quarts—They got him down into the Cabbin and laid a Sail for a Bed, We expected him to die in a little while—We spent the night very disagreeably—His Groans and the bad situation in which he was distressed us much.

*Saturday, November 17.* Soon after we got something composed, about 12 last night, the Wind came round to the Northward, and blew violently, with a high Sea, We stood off the Land and Afterwards laid to, under a reef'd Mainsail-till the Morning, then stood on our way, and went at a great rate, Passed Cape Hatteras Shoals,—After getting round the Cape, stood in for Land, and hoisted a Signal for a Pilot, one came onboard who took charge of us till we passed over Ocracoke Bar and came to Anchor at the upper Anchorage, about one O'Clock here we found lying a Brig, a Schooner and 3 Sloops—Got dinner; After 3 O'Clock stood on, crossed a Shoal or Bar across the Channel called the Swash, lying 6 Miles or thereabouts from *Ocracoke Bar*,—



On the Bar is 14 feet water, at low tide—On the *Swash* is 8 feet at low tide; the Tide rises on these Shoals but about—feet on the Bar, and about— inches on the Swash.

The Inlet opens into a great Bay called Pamlico Sound, that receives into it many Rivers on different sides, We crossed it about 40 Miles, partly in the Night, the Moon shining bright to the mouth of Tar River, Went up that River in the night till we came off Bath Creek Mouth about 2 miles from a place call'd Bath Town which lies up the Creek; then let go Anchor till Sunrise, being about 24 Miles up the River—

*Sunday, November 18.* Hoisted out our Boat and set Mr. Brown on shore near the point, then stood on, up the River 16 Miles further, to Washington; where we arrived about 1 O'Clock—Here a number of Gentlemen came onboard us—Went with David Shoemaker and paid a short visit at his house, returned onboard and dined.—Towards evening took a walk to Mr. Nuttle's, where was Mr. & Mrs. Shoemaker, and Capt. Eldredge; drank Tea there. Mr. Mackie and I return'd and slept onboard.

*Monday, November 19.* Muster Day in Washington, which brought a large number of people from the Country—

Mr. Richard Blackledge,<sup>2</sup> came to town.—I dined at David Jones's in Company with Kirby, Mackie, & Whitall.—Drank Tea with Rachel Shoemaker—Many disorders in town, the Militia some of them fighting. This is the practise every Musterday. Mr. Knight a Criminal who had escaped from Philadelphia was

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<sup>2</sup>Richard Blackledge and his brother Thomas Blackledge were natives of New Bern both of whom lived in Washington for a few years. Richard Blackledge was one of the first commissioners of the town of Washington, a lawyer of brilliant ability; he represented Beaufort county several terms in the Legislature. He married Louisa Blount, daughter of Colonel Jacob Blount, and Sister of John Gray Blount. After their marriage they lived in Tarborough. Prior to the ceremony, a marriage settlement was made by which her property, consisting of a house and two lots in that town with twenty or more negro slaves, were conveyed to her brother, Gov. William Blount in case of her death without children. The document is signed by Judge Samuel Spencer; it is written on parchment in good preservation and bears the stamp forced upon us by England. It reads "2 lots, or pieces of land, in the Town of Tarborough situated on Saint George and Saint Andrew and Granville Sts., and known in the plan of the town as numbers 104 and 105." In the history of Edgecombe county by Turner and Bridgers (page 107) this house is described as the place where George Washington, on his visit to the State in 1791, was cordially entertained "at the beautiful residence overlooking Tar River, belonging at the time to Major Reading Blount." The career of Richard Blackledge was cut off by his addiction to the drink habit. His wife only lived a short time after her marriage and left no children. The house situated near the river was still standing a few years ago, but in a very dilapidated condition. (Reference also to Dec. 21st)

taken up, alongside our Vessel & Capt. Eldredge's; he was put in irons and sent to Goal. I slept onboard.

*Tuesday, November 20.* Mr. Blackledge waited on me, and kindly invited me to fix my residence with him and his brother Thomas, that I should have a Room for myself, and he wou'd furnish me a Horse &c. to be at my command during my stay in North Carolina.—I had engaged quarters at Horn's Tavern, but now conclude to accept Blackledge's offer.—I Breakfasted onboard—Blackledge called down at the Vessel about dinner time, when we walk'd to the House, where he then introduced me to his brother Thos. & to his brother's wife, Polly Blackledge<sup>3</sup>. There were two young ladies dined with us, Miss Sally Salter, sister of Mrs. T. Blackledge, and Miss—— Armstrong, two agreeable looking young ladies, but rather silent today. My Chest &c. was sent up in the Evening—Wrote home to J. K. and Wm. F.—near Tarborough. Rain at night—

*Wednesday, November 21.* After Breakfast, set off from Washington for Newbern in Company with R. Blackledge, B. Brown, Capt. Keais<sup>4</sup>, Jno. G. Blount<sup>5</sup>, Doctor Loomis & Charles Cooke, all on Horseback, we crossed Tar River in a Scow—rode a Mile or two, then Blackledge pushed on before us, in order to get to Newbern early—The rest of us rode about 22½ Miles, where we cross'd *Swift's Creek*, on a bridge, this is a branch of Neuse River.

We dined at Johnson's near the Creek, about 22 Miles from Washington. Rode to Curti's Tavern 7½ Miles further; here we staid all night—Went to bed early, being a good deal tired.—

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<sup>3</sup>Mrs. Polly Blackledge, the wife of Mr. Thomas Blackledge, was a daughter of Col. Salter. Their residence in Washington was of short duration. They are survived by a number of descendants mostly residents of New Bern.

<sup>4</sup>Capt. Nathan Keais, a native of Rhode Island where he commanded a company of State troops during the Revolution. He is put down also, as one of the Captains of the Second Regiment North Carolina troops. He and his wife, Barbara, are buried in the churchyard surrounding St. Peter's Church, Washington. Their descendants are represented in the Hoyt and Tayloe families.

<sup>5</sup>John Gray Blount is said to have been the most influential man in Beaufort county in his day. He was a merchant of large enterprise and a patriot of the Revolution. He and his wife, Mary Harvey, daughter of Col. Miles Harvey of Perquimans, are buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's Church, Washington. They left many descendants represented in the Blount, Rodman, Myers, Branch, J. G. B. Grimes and Cowper families.

*Thursday, November 22.* At Curti's we met General Armstrong<sup>6</sup> to whom I was introduced by Mr. Blount—After breakfast we led our Horses to the River Neuse, at this place about 200 yards over, here ferried over in a Scow, and rode on 10 Miles further, to Newbern—first crossing Batchelor's Creek on a Bridge, 3 Miles from Curti's—

Went in Company with Blount and Brown, to Pendleton's Tavern—There I dined paid several Visits, Saw John Green, John Kennedy & Nathan Smith drank Tea at Nathan Smith's—At Mr. Green's I saw the pretty Miss Cogdell<sup>7</sup>, whom Mr. Green introduced to me—When the Tea Tackle began to rattle, I was sorry I had previously declared an engagement at Smith's—And was therefore obliged to move—Mr. Green waited on me to Smith's, and then to my Quarters.—

*Friday, November 23.* Breakfasted at Pendleton's—In the forenoon there was a Horse Race five Horses started for the Purse which was won by a Horse called Sweeper—Went to Dine with John Green, by invitation; there was Miss Cogdell, Misses Wright Stanly, Mr. Doiley, & Mr. .... Green, (John's brother)—Towards evening took a walk with John Green to see the palace.

The palace is a building erected by the province before the Revolution—It is a large and elegant brick Edifice two Stories high; with two Wings for the offices, somewhat advanced in front towards the Road, these are also two Stories high but lower in height than the main Building, these Wings are connected with the principal Building by a circular arcade reaching from each of the front Corners to the corner of the Wing—The palace is situated with one front to the River Trent and near the Bank, and commands a pleasing view of the Water—It was finished within, in a very elegant manner. The grand Staircase lighted from the Sky by a low Dome, which being glazed kept out the Weather—

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<sup>6</sup>General Armstrong was a member of the Pitt county committee of safety, and one of those named to solicit donations for the relief of the people of Boston. He was elected Major of Pitt county militia in 1775; was in active service near Philadelphia, and promoted to Colonel in 1777; elected Brigadier General in 1786, and member of Fayetteville Convention 1789. His home was on the south side of Tar River in the neighborhood of the Salter and Grimes plantations. His name has disappeared from Pitt county, and most of his descendants have moved farther south.

<sup>7</sup>(Hist. Pitt Co., by Henry King) "The pretty Miss Cogdell," was the daughter of Richard Cogdell and mother of Hon. George E. Badger, Judge of the Superior Court, and Secretary of the Navy in 1841.

This House was formerly the residence of the Governors of this Country, as well as the place where the Legislature sat, to transact their business—It is somewhat out of repair at present, and the Legislature, not meeting at this time in Newbern, the only use now made of it is, the Town's people use one of the Halls for a Dancing Room & One of the other Rooms is used for a School Room. The only inhabitants we found about it were the Schoolmaster and one little boy in the palace, school being out. And in the Stables 2 or 3 Horses who had taken Shelter there from the bleakness of the Wind. The King of G. Britain's Arms, are still suffered to appear in a pediment at the front of the Building; which considering the independent spirit of the people averse to every vestige of Royalty appears Something strange—

We returned to Mr. Green's, where I drank Tea with the ladies. Miss Cogdell's Sister called in the evening; And two Gentlemen came in—I was introduced to Mrs. Stanly—And accompanied the Ladies with several Gentlemen, as far as my way went where I bid them Adieu for the evening.

One instance of the vicissitudes of human affairs; is exhibited in the situation of things at the palace, which from being the seat of a little Court, under the regal Government; is now become the seat of a petty Schoolmaster with his little subjects, another instance occurs in the person of Mr. Jno. W. Stanly<sup>8</sup>, the husband of Mrs. Stanly already mentioned; this Man of whom the first knowledge I had, was, his being confined a prisoner in the Goal of Philadelphia for debt, upon his liberation removed to this Country, where by a Series of fortunate events in Trade during the War he acquired a great property, and has built a house in Newbern where he resides, that is truly elegant and convenient; at an expense of near 20,000 Dollars—He has a large Wharff and

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<sup>8</sup>John Stanly often a member of the Legislature from Craven, and a member of Congress from 1801 to 1809. He became engaged in a political controversy with Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight in 1802 which unfortunately terminated in a duel in which Governor Spaight received his death wound.

The beautiful house built by Mr. Stanly at such a large expenditure, for that day, is still standing, and is an ornament to the town of New Bern. It is described as "the house in which George Washington was entertained in 1791. And, where Mr. Stanly gave hospitable welcome to Gen. Nathanael Greene, and made a loan to him of forty thousand pounds for the necessities of his suffering soldiers of the Revolution." It is now owned by Hon. James A. Bryan, who served as a captain in the Confederate Army.

Distillery near his house; upon Neuse River side of the Town—and a fine plantation with sixty Slaves thereon.—

One circumstance deserves to be recorded to his honour—Altho' brought to Philadelphia from Honduras a Prisoner arbitrarily; and on his arrival sent to Goal by the person who brought him by force yet upon his getting into affluent circumstances, he generously relieved the pecuniary distresses of that very person afterwards; the more meritorious, as upon a settlement of Accounts with that Man, it was found that he owed him nothing, but on the contrary that person was in his Debt—Mr. Wright Stanly brother to John invited me to spend a Week with him at a Farm about 13 Miles from Newbern, where he promises me the diversion of Deer Hunting and driving.

*Saturday, November 24.* Races again today, four Horses started; a mistake happen'd, the Horses being nearly abreast some of the people halloed, "set off," "go," &c. which the riders supposed to be Orders from the proper judges; they set off, and run the course with great eagerness, the blunder created some anger and a good deal of Mirth. The Riders were young Negroes of 13 or 14 years old who generally rode bareback.—

I have attended the Races yesterday and today rather from motives of curiosity than any love to this Amusement, and think I shall hardly be prevailed on to go ten Steps in future to see any Horse Race—The objections and inconveniences attending this kind of Amusement, obvious to me, are,

- 1st. Large numbers of people are drawn from their business, occupations and labour, which is a real loss to their families and the State.
- 2d. By wagering and betting; much quarreling wrangling, Anger, Swearing & drinking is created and takes place, I saw it on the present occasion prevalent from the highest to the lowest—I saw white Boys, and Negroes eagerly betting 1/ 2/ a quart of Rum, a drink of Grog &c, as well as Gentlemen betting high—



3d. Many accidents happen on these occasions—

One of the Riders a Negroe boy, who rid one of the Horses yesterday, was, while at full speed thrown from his Horse, by a Cow being in the Road and the Horse driving against her in the hurry of the Race—The poor Lad was badly hurt in the Head and bled much—

The second day, one of the Horses at starting, run violently amongst the people that sat in a place of apparent security, it was precisely the spot where I thought there was the greatest safety, for foot people—More might be added.

I went to the Court House to see the proceedings there at the Superior Court—An Argument about bringing on the cause of the Heirs of Samuel Cornell<sup>9</sup> against those who had bot property once his but confiscated by the Government—Saw H. Harris he kindly offers me an introduction to Ladies of his acquaintance in and about Newbern—

*Sunday, November 25.* This morning Mr. John Green called at my quarters, he asked if I had a mind to go to Church; I having no inclination to go, he left me at Church time.

It is the custom here With some, if they can afford it, when a burial happens in their families, to give the Minister and bearers white scarffs and Bands the Scarff is composed of about 3 yards & a half of white linen and hangs from the right shoulder & is gathered in a knot below the left Arm, with a Rose and Ribbands, also white; from the knot the two ends or tags hang down; the Band for the Hat is of white linen also, about 1½ yards or sometimes that quantity will make two Bands if split down the middle—This is tied round the Crown of the Hat & the two ends streaming down—

The Sunday after the Funeral, the bearers assemble somewhere, with these decorations to their persons and go in a body into Church, where the Minister dress'd in the like manner receives at the door.

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<sup>9</sup>Samuel Cornell a distinguished Tory; it has been stated that his family was connected with that of Daniel Webster.



This custom I had the opportunity to observe today, there having been a funeral last Week, the bearers assembled at the Tavern where I stay, opposite the Church, in order to go into Church together. The Linen is of a convenient quantity to make a shirt after ceremonies are over.

I went to dine with Nathan Smith, by invitation: the Company consisted of himself and Sister, and eight Gentlemen Guests; Col. Davie<sup>10</sup>, Messrs. Tomlinson, Haines, Grainger, Carty &c.—It is useful & entertaining in a Company of Strangers, after the first Salutations and civilities are passed to be rather silent, and observe the Characters of the Company, opening by degrees in the course of conversation, one also hears many anecdotes of other persons who are sometimes handled freely, in their absence; and one hears many particulars useful or curious.—

Col. Davie produced a curious Tobacco Pouch, made of a young Mink Skin, the size of a little Cat, it was dress'd with the hair, Feet and Claws and Tail on, and when thrown on the Table with a bellyfull of Tobacco look'd like a little dead black Cat.

Mr. Grainger mentioned a Method of discovering wild Bees in the Woods—Fix a piece of Honeysuckle on a forked, Pole, which is to be set upright, a Bee comes, loads himself, and flies directly towards his home, follow him with all dispatch, as far the eye can reach him, then move the Pole forward so far; the Bee or some other, comes again, follow on still, which by degrees leads to the Tree where the Bees are with their Store of Wax and Honey—

In the evening returned to my quarters, where I found Armstrong, and Capt.——, other Gentlemen came in.

*Monday, November 26.* Today, was tried in the Superior Court, the Claim of the Heirs of Samuel Cornell Esqr. for the property that belonged to him in North Carolina; he having gone away in the early part of the War the property being consider'd as confiscated was sold by the Agents of the State—Judgment was given against the Heirs—The Judge & Lawyers in this Country dress in black Robes & white Tunics like parsons.

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<sup>10</sup>Colonel Davie here mentioned was the well-known and distinguished soldier of the Revolution, William Richardson Davie.

*Tuesday, November 27.* Nothing worth remarking.—

*Wednesday, November 28.* Breakfasted with John Green—About 11 O'Clock Capt. John Jones & the older Mrs. Blackledge arrived in Gurling's Sloop from Philadelphia.—six day's passage.

About noon met Mr. John Stanly in Church Street, he told me he was going to look for me to give me an invitation to dine tomorrow at his house.

I gave him to understand that I expected to leave Newbern towards Evening this day—He then ask'd me to go to his house & take a Glass of Wine—We had a variety of Chat—Engaged to dine with him tomorrow if I don't leave town—Went to see Capt. Jones at Jno. Green's was introduced to his Mother-in-law. In the Evening he & Mr. Green called at my quarters, where I gave them punch—Saw N. Smith today at his Store—I am to expect trouble, I see, in settling with him. R. Blackledge set off for Tarborough early this Morning. H. Harris and I had a long conversation in the Afternoon at my quarters, this & an appearance of rain prevents my setting out for Washington.—

*Thursday, November 29.* Went at two O'Clock to Mr. John W. Stanly's to dine, he had also invited Judge Spencer<sup>11</sup>, and Mr. Iredell<sup>12</sup> an eminent Lawyer, Mr. Thomas Turner, Mr. William Shepard<sup>13</sup> and Mr. Bryan were there. The Ladies present were Mrs. John W. Stanly, Mrs. Wright Stanly and Mrs. Green, the widow of Mr. James Green—The Court holding late kept us waiting for the Judge & Lawyers. I had a long tête à tête Conversation with Mr. John W. Stanly before Dinner; about half past four the Judge and Mrs. Iredell came, then we sat down to Dinner. Had a long discourse with Judge Spencer on the subject of Paper Money & c. I do not like his ideas, he contends that the Country

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<sup>11</sup>Judge Samuel Spencer of Anson county held many offices under the Colonial government, and was one of the three Judges of the Superior Courts first elected under the constitution in 1777.

<sup>12</sup>Mr. Iredell emigrated to Chowan county from England when 17 years old. He studied law under Gov. Samuel Johnston and married his sister, Hannah. He became a very distinguished citizen of North Carolina. He held office successively as member of the Assembly, Judge of the Superior Court, Attorney General of the State and, later, was appointed by George Washington Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In the presidential election of 1796 he received three electoral votes.

<sup>13</sup>William Shepard of New Bern was the father of Honorables Chas. B.; William B.; and James B. Shepard; and of Mary, the wife of Hon. John H. Bryan of Raleigh.

cannot do without a Paper Medium, and that the value of this medium shall be regulated from time to time by a Scale of value or depreciation. I am afraid the Ladies were ill entertained while they staid with us.—We dropt the subject on going into the Tea Room, where more general topics took place—A while after Tea, I took my leave and retired to my Quarters—

*Friday, November 30.* I staid in Newbern till about 3 O'Clock in the Afternoon, then set off alone, for Washington—Coming out of Town I heedlessly miss'd my way, and rode about two Miles before I was sensible of my being wrong—Had I only thrown the reins on the Horse's Neck he wou'd probably have gone right, as he knew the way home to Washington better than I, and it is also probable that he had not such a variety of ideas to embarrass his mind.—The Road from Newbern to Washington is thro' a Tract of Country mostly a flat and level body of Land, the Soil a whitish Sand, the timber is mostly Pines; in some places the Pines mixt with a few Oaks; in one place the Road goes a short distance thro' a Swamp of large Cypress Trees, and small canes, with which are intermingled a variety of Shrubs and Vines growing out of the water.—The Road is partly cover'd with the dead spines or leaves of the Pines, of a rust colour—Abundance of the Trees, more particularly the Oaks, have large quantities of a long silver grey colour Moss hanging from the branches, it grows often 3, 4 or 5 feet long and looks like Streamers hanging from the boughs—This Moss is good food for Cattle, who are generally very fond of it—In the Winter when Fodder is short the people cut down the Trees cover'd with it for the Cattle to browse.—About dark I arrived at Neuse River, where giving one or two halloes that made the Woods echo, the Ferryman on the other side heard and answr'd me—Then came over in the Ferry Scow and took me across to the Ferry House a little distance from the River, where Mrs. Curtis gave me hospitable entertainment,—There is a long Causeway to pass on the South side of Neuse River very bad in wet Seasons—

*Saturday, December 1.* After Breakfast I set out alone for Washington, after riding a Mile or two, looking down upon the

Road I thought there lay in the path a fine large Orange, which in a moment I concluded had dropt from the pocket of somebody who had been down to Newbern, & was carrying it home; perhaps it might be for a present for his Sweetheart—I found it however to be only a Gourd or Squash in colour & shape like an Orange and is very common in this Country.

A few miles further on, I saw two beautiful Woodpeckers with variegated plumage and red towering Crests—Their Note was a repetition in a shrill sound of the word *PEAP*. They were much larger than any I ever saw in Pennsylvania.

*Sunday & Monday, December 2 & 3.* Staid at T. Blackledge's—Several Visitors there—During my absence at Newbern, a quarrel has taken place between Kirby and Ford—Wrote to J. K. inclosing R. Blackledge's Papers, Sunday. Ford fined 20 pounds for Assaulting Kirby, and bound to good behaviour.—

In the evening I went and took Tea at Mrs. Shoemaker's by invitation. Mrs. Nuttle came in, I waited on her home, She invites me to Visit.—At Mr. Blackledge's today was introduced to Messrs. Grimes<sup>14</sup>, father and son.—Miss Betsy Grimes & Miss Polly Watkins came and staid at Mr. Blackledge's—

*Wednesday, December 5.* It was so warm & pleasant today we sat with open Windows. Staid at T. Blackledge's—Miss Salter, Miss Grimes, Miss Watkins, two Miss Eastwood's there—cloudy and some Rain.—Capt. John Wallace<sup>15</sup> gave us a good deal of his Company today.

*Thursday, December 6.* A Cloudy and rainy Day, staid at home; spent the day Writing, Reading and Chatting—I think it observable that our Language is more and more sliding into modes of expression allusive and allegorical, approximating to the eastern stile—Professional Men, Lawyers, Seamen, Soldiers

<sup>14</sup>Messrs. Grimes, father and son, were Demsie Grimes and his son the first Bryan Grimes. Demsie Grimes was a wealthy and leading citizen of Pitt county; he owned Avon and Grimesland plantations on the South side of Tar River, about twelve miles from Washington. Bryan Grimes was the father of the late distinguished General Bryan Grimes of the Confederate Army; and of the late Mr. William Grimes a highly valued citizen of Raleigh.

"Miss Betsy Grimes" mentioned further on was the daughter of Demsie Grimes and married Reading Grist. She was the ancestress of the Grist family of Beaufort county. She is buried in the Grimes burial plot at Avon where repose the remains of three generations of her family.

<sup>15</sup>Capt. John Wallace, a citizen of Beaufort county for many years prominent in the seafaring trade and other industries. He was distinguished for energy and activity in business, the late Capt. Alf Styron of Washington was one of his descendants.

&c. introduce many phrases into common Language, at first perhaps ludicrously, which by degrees obtain a currency, and are applied to the business of common life, the Soldier desires you to *parade* yourself and take a walk with him, he tells you that he visited at such a place, and staid till they began to *parade* Dinner, then he *March'd* off, the Sailor finds you lying down, he enquires "What's the matter that you are lying "on your *Beam ends*? and tells you to "Get up, or Ben "will get to *Windward* of you for he is eating all the Pie." I am persuaded that many terms introduced in this way ludicrously are adopted at last as classical—It sounds strange to my ear, to hear the people in Carolina, instead of the word *carry* or *carried* commonly say, *toat*, or *toated*—I asked a boy what made his head so flat he replied "It was occasioned by *toating* Water. This is the usual phrase—I am told the Joiner charges in his bill for "toating the Coffin home" after it is finished.

*Friday, December 7.* Captain John Wallace informs me, that in one of his Voyages at Sea, in Latitude  $23\frac{1}{2}$  North, they caught a Shark about ten feet long, in whose Maw was 2 Hats & 1 Milled Cap; this he declares to me, that he saw with his own eyes.—Tho' many things are related of the dangers from Sharks, yet I have not known, nor ever heard credibly attested, that a Shark has ever bit or injured a living Man on the Coast of the United States—Thousands of Men in the Summer Season, are in the Water, Bathing, Fishing &c. upon our Coasts—

Miss Watkins & Miss Grimes left us today—In the Afternoon I was introduced to Mrs. Jno. Blount, by Mrs. Blackledge.—The Weather clears in the Afternoon—

Mr. Blount; Mrs. Blount; Mr. Arnett, a Lawyer; Capt. Wallace and Miss Sally Salter drank Tea with us.—A party agreed for Deer Hunting tomorrow.—

*Saturday, December 8.*

*To drive the Deer with voice and hound,  
This Morn we took our way,*

But,—

*No stricken Buck hath cause to rue,  
The Hunting of the Day.—*



A Frosty Morning, When the day grew warm the Dew Drops hung at the end of the leaves, like Diamonds quivering in the Sun beams—

About 9 O'Clock, a party of us, embark'd to cross Tar River to go on a Deer Hunt, the Company were, Capt. Dill, Messrs. Thos. Blackledge; Nuttle; Whipple, Bonner, Capt. John Wallace; and myself, we row'd in Dill's boat by two Sailors; John Blount Esqr. was to cross over in a Canoe and meet us, over the River at his Farm<sup>16</sup> near which we were to hunt this Morning—The method of hunting is generally as follows,

One part of the Company go into the Wood with the Hounds and usually carry their Guns along, here they begin to trail for the Deer Tracks, and put the Dogs on the Scent, the other part of the Company are station'd in different places where it is known that the Deer usually cross the Forest towards the River, for a hunted Deer when hard push'd by the Dogs and Hunters generally makes for the Water where they can swim with great strength and swiftness,—A party is station'd in a Canoe or Boat to pursue him, if he takes the Water,—If he takes the River They must seize him by the Tail and lift him by it and drown him.—All this we tried but without getting a Deer—I was station'd at a Neck of Land that joins a small peninsula to the Main and was known to be a good place for the reception of a herd running down I stood at my Post for about two hours with the vigilance of a Sentinel looking for an enemy with 7 small bullets in my Gun, to pepper him well, but no Buck came near me; one of our party shot at a Doe a considerable distance from him, but without effect, she got away—While I stood at my Post five Hounds pass'd me within 30 Yards, and shortly open'd their Music, soon after, I heard a most dreadful squealing of Pigs, I was afterwards told that a party of the Neighbors were out hunting Wild Hogs; when the dogs seize them, the Men come up, tie the feet of the Hog taken, and leave him on the spot for the present,

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<sup>16</sup>One of the historic spots near Washington. It was devised by the will of John Gray Blount to his grandson, William Blount Rodman, and became known as "Rodman's Quarters." It was occupied by both Federals and Confederates during the Civil War as a fort, from which point of vantage each at different times shelled the Town in efforts to dislodge the other. It is now owned in part by Mr. Ott Rumley.



then halloo the dogs after the rest of the herd.—Returning from the Hunt we saw a Negroe in only his shirt bringing a horse from the fields, he shook with cold. We returned to Washington in the Afternoon.

*Sunday, December 9.* Thos. Blackledge being about to remove from Washington, I yesterday evening moved my effects to Geo. Horn's, where I have engaged to Board, to pay 6/ Paper Money per day; if absent three days to be allowed the time—Dined there today for the first time—In the afternoon went with Doctor Loomis & others to the funeral of John Bonner<sup>17</sup>, about a Mile in the Country; when we arrived at the house, we found it crowded with a mixt Company of Men and Women, sitting & standing round the Corpse, which was nailed up in a Coffin and cever'd with a Sheet, Parson Blount<sup>18</sup> was standing with a Tea Table before him, to hold his Books, and an Arm Chair for him to sit down if he chose it—He went thro' a long service from the Liturgy of the Church of England Prayers, Creeds, P'salms, &c. and afterwards preach'd a very excellent Funeral Sermon; and instead of a fulsome eulogium on the deceased, he very pathetically exhorted his hearers to consider the shortness of life, the certainty of Death & the necessity of a preparation for the World to come.—I staid till Sermon was over. when being very cold, I came away—I was told that the Corpse was carried to the family burying place on the Farm by six bearers with Napkins, in the manner Children are commonly borne to the Grave; each of the bearers had a black Ribband tied round one of their Arms—

This Man tho' a Member of the Assembly, and a rich Batchelor, lived in an old house that had four Windows in the lower room only one of which appeared ever to have been glazed; the others had sash lights but no Glass—

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<sup>17</sup>John Bonner, one of the Bonner family on whose land the Town of Washington was planted. James and Henry Bonner were the founders of the township. They have many honored descendants in town and county today.

<sup>18</sup>Rev. Nathaniel Blount, familiarly known as "Parson Blount," was a first cousin of the brothers, John Gray, Reaung, and Thomas Blount, all of whom are mentioned in the journal. He was a student for the ministry under Rev. Alexander Stewart of St. Thomas church, Bath. He was ordained in London in 1773. In the same year he built "Blount's Chapel," now Trinity Church, Chocowinity. The families of Mrs. Thomas Kingsbury of Wilmington and Mr. Levi Blount of Mississippi represent his descendants.

I return'd to Horn's where I spent the evening.

*Monday, December 10.* In the forenoon paid a Visit at Thos. Blackledge's Sally Salter went home by Water accompanied by two young Girls, Louisa Salter & Fanny Batchelor; I went to the water side with them—

This has been a clear cold day. At night I paid a visit to Rachel Shoemaker—

*Tuesday, December 11.* Writing all day at my Quarters till evening, then receiving an invitation from John G. Blount I went and drank Tea at his house. Thos. Blackledge and his Wife were there Blount gives me a general invitation to his house—Doctor Loomis introduced me today to Mr. Hacket, just arrived from Tarborough, and one of Horn's boarders—Captain Scott and Mr. McKim are also boarders in Horn's family.

*Wednesday, December 12.* Dined at Thomas Blackledge's today on Venison by invitation from him last evening—The Venison was tender and excellent, being part of a Fawn that he with others got yesterday just on the back of Town; they went to look for some Hogs; and some Dogs that were along, giving indications of Game being near, upon looking out they saw this hapless Fawn; one of the Com<sup>y</sup> fired, and broke its leg; the Dogs immediately catch'd it.—After Dinner Mr. Stephen Cambreleng calling in, I was introduced to him.

This has been a Cold Day tho' clear, it is said some of the small Creeks are frozen over, a circumstance uncommon here at this Season—

*Thursday, December 13.* In Conversation this Morning at Breakfast, it was mention'd by Capt. Scott that the allowance of provision made to a working Slave, in a part of this State and in South Carolina, was *one peck of Indian Corn per Week*<sup>19</sup>: this he was to dress or cook as he pleased; they are allowed no Meat, they have the privilege sometimes of working a bit of Ground for themselves, out of such time as they gain when Task'd, or on Sundays. One of the Company present, a Stranger I did not know,

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<sup>19</sup>This was probably a tale meant to amuse the visitor. The woods were full of small game, and the rivers teemed with fish, a resource then, as now for whites and blacks alike.

told us, that in one of his Voyages to the Coast of Guinea, and at a place called the River Jenk, he was present at the burial of an old Chief or King who had died—The body of the King was in a Coffin of Wood: his people buried along with him five stout Negro Men *alive*, these were without Coffins, they submitted to this without apparent reluctance, and received some Rum to drink just before they were buried—

In the evening went to Thomas Blackledge's where I drank Chocolate—

*Friday, December 14.* This forenoon rode out on a visit to Colonel Kennedy's<sup>20</sup> about two Miles from Washington he lives near the River side, a large Creek runs by his house, our party was Mrs. Thos. Blackledge in a Sulky, and Lucy Harvey<sup>21</sup>, and myself on Horseback, we dined and drank Tea there, and spent a very agreeable day with Col. & Mrs. Kennedy, their Son John & daughter Miss Absoley, Miss Evans was there on a visit but scarcely spoke—Absoley is a pleasing Character, genteel in her person, mild and amiable in her manners, attentive to the Company; with graveness, a degree of Cheerfulness—She put me in mind of a lady I once loved—We return'd by Moonlight, & Mrs. Blackledge drove thro' the Woods with such Spirit all the way home, Lucy and myself rode full Gallop to keep up with her—

This was Lucy's first ride by herself on horseback, we had scarcely rode one Mile out, before she was able to Canter, tho' our first outset was rather unpromising—I never saw any Girl ride so well on the first trial—

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<sup>20</sup>Colonel Kennedy was a wealthy and leading citizen of Beaufort county. His home here mentioned, was a social center of refined hospitality. The house was built about 1750, and is still standing. The foundation which encloses a substantial cellar is built of brick as are the chimneys and both ends, while the front and back of the house are of timber. This presents an unusual appearance for if you approach from the east or west you expect to enter a brick building, but on arriving at the front or rear entrance you see only a frame building on a brick foundation. The interior was elegant in its day, though now stained by age and abuse. The family burying ground nearby is enclosed by a substantial iron fence, but the handsome marble monuments therein are being wrecked by the ravages of time.

The place is now the property of the heirs of General Bryan Grimes, who purchased it after the Civil War.

<sup>21</sup>Lucy Harvey was a daughter of Col. Miles Harvey and sister of Mrs. John Gray Blount with whom she made her home, both parents being dead. She married Major Reading Blount in 1794. They are buried in their family burial plot, on what was their country home of "Bellefont." This place has passed into other ownership and is subdivided into small farms.

I sat a while with the Ladies on our return, then retired to Horne's to my Quarters there I always find a great deal of Company.

*Saturday, December 15.* WASHINGTON is a Town containing about sixty Families, it is situated on the North East side of Tar River about 40 Miles from the mouth of the River and 80 from Ocracoke Bar—the River at Washington is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Mile over but the Channel is narrow, there being flats near the Shore; Vessels drawing  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet Water come up to the Town when the River is low; when the Water is raised by Freshes Vessels of greater burthen can come there; for about two Miles below the Town the Navigation is impeded by sunken Logs, and by Stumps of large Trees that are supposed to have grown there—From this Town the trade up the River as far as the town of Tarborough at the head of the Navigation, is carried on chiefly in large Scows and Flats drawing but little Water, some of these carry 70 or 80 hogsheads of Tobacco—Tarborough is 50 Miles above Washington and contains about 20 families—

At Washington there are several convenient Wharffes, and there are sometimes lying here near 20 sail of Sea Vessels—Washington being the County Town of Beaufort County there is a Court House and Prison there; and there is a School House—The Lots upon the River are laid out 100 feet front to each Lot.—The Houses are built of Wood a few are large and convenient—

Tar River like many other Rivers of North Carolina has no tide, other than a small rise sometimes occasioned by the Winds driving the Waters, a Vessel at Anchor usually rides with her head to the Wind. Heavy Rains however occasion considerable Freshes when these happen it is difficult setting and poleing Flats up the River, they often then warp up by Ropes fastened to the Trees on the bank.

Mr. Nuttle brought with him to our Quarters this Evening a large Dog, singular for being whelped almost without a Tail, he has now but a short stump about an inch long, it is cover'd with hair just covering the Stump and ending in a point at the bottom of the Stump.

*Sunday, December 16.* Dined with Doctor Loomiss by invitation, there were present Messrs. Leland and Arnett, those two Gentlemen went away directly after dinner, at the Doctor's desire I staid till near evening, after Tea I took leave—We had much talk—He invites me to take Christmas Dinner with him, if I stay in Washington—From the Doctor's I went to Thos. Blackledge's drank Tea there—A good deal of Company was there—

Deliver'd letters to Capt. Kirby for Philadelphia for John Kaigher, Benjn. Horner, William Zane, Richard Adams and Polly Attmore, I enclosed the whole in a cover directed for Kaiger & Attmore. No Fire Engine is kept in the place, neither is there any Fire Buckets, If a Fire should happen in a high Wind, the Town might suffer much.

By many this place is counted unhealthy, some however are of a contrary opinion.

Lately there has been a Rum Distillery established at this place—This is not likely to render the place more healthy—

The Merchants export from this Town, Tar, Pitch, Turpentine, Rozin, Indian Corn, Boards, Scantling, Staves, Shingles, Furs, Tobacco, Pork, Lard, Tallow, Beeswax, Myrtlewx, Pease, and some other articles, their Trade is chiefly with the West Indies and with the other States on this Continent; the Navigation not admitting Vessels of great burthen to come up to the Town; and for a large Vessel to lay below to load at the Anchorage near the Bar, is always inconvenient, and sometimes dangerous.

*Monday, December 17.* Rain last night, and Cloudy and wet today—Capt. Kirby sailed for Philadelphia.

*Tuesday, December 18.* I breakfasted this Morning at Horne's, after breakfast walk'd down to Thomas Blackledge's to enquire if he could accomodate me with a Horse to ride up the Country to visit William Tuton on business; I found David Jones there, who inform'd me that he was riding towards Tarborough; and of course would be company for me upwards of 30 Miles; Company is generally desirable upon a Journey, but is particularly agreeable when one is going a road that we have not traveled before, if the person is well acquainted with the Road;—Mr. Blackledge



was out, but Polly ventured to let me have the Horse that I had rode to Newbern,—Mr. Jones invited me to take an early dinner with him, which I accepted, and afterwards we set out, We saw a number of partridges by the side of the Road, they did not take wing on our coming up but run into the bushes, we could have killed a great many of them if we had been furnished with Guns—After riding on we consulted together and agreed that we would cross Tar River at Mrs. Salter's and go on as far as Mr. Grimes with whom both of us were acquainted and stay all night,—We cross'd the River; at this place about a hundred yards over, in a small Scow, and walk'd up a high bank to Mrs. Salter's house<sup>22</sup>, which is near the bank of the River and commands a fine prospect down the River for a Mile or two,—We went into the House, Mrs. Salter is Mother to Polly Blackledge and Sally Salter, that I have mentioned to you before, Sally & her Mother were both at home, as was Peggy, another daughter; a very pretty and agreeable Girl; my fellow Traveller, I soon found, had prepared an oblation, he produced from his pocket several fine Oranges which he presented to the Mother and Daughters, he had also Letters for Miss Sally, from some of her Friends at Washington—Mrs. Salter invited us to stay and take Coffee; and afterwards to lodge there, this seeming to be more pleasing to Mr. Jones, than to go on further, I readily agreed to it—And our Horses were put up. We spent the evening in conversation on different subjects, amongst the rest a good deal was said on Religion—At length Jones & I retired to go to rest, we found two Beds in our room, and proposed to ourselves each to take one to himself, but my fellow Traveller upon examining the one that by tacit consent had fallen to his lot, found it to be without Sheets, this circumstance rather disconcerted him, as I believe he had before heard me say, that I had as lieve sleep with a Snapping Turtle or a Two-Year-old Bull, as with a *Man*, However I soon relieved him by declaring that in present circumstances his Company would not be disagreeable, and we tumbled in and went to Sleep.

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<sup>22</sup>"Mrs. Salter's house" this was the plantation of Col. Edmund Salter, not far from Avon and Grimesland. It was in recent years the residence of Col. Joseph Saunders of Confederate fame.



*Wednesday, December 19.* Jones and I rose early intending to ride on to Mr. Grimes's three Miles from Mrs. Salter's where we made no doubt that we should find a good Breakfast, we bid adieu to Mrs. Salter, who had risen; and pursued our way; we called at Mr. Grimes's we found that he had gone from home, his daughter Betsey that I had seen at Thomas Blackledge's with two other young Women were at home, they were at work in a room below stairs, and we soon found that they seemed rather embarrass'd with our Company; to our Grief, they for half an hour neglected to ask us whether we had breakfasted<sup>23</sup>, being in despair on this head Jones asked if I would ride on, as Mr. Grimes was not at home; with great reluctance I was obliged to answer, Yes,—Then with heavy hearts we bid the Girls, good b'ye, mounted our horses, and rode twelve Miles to Greenville, formerly called Martinsburg; here at the hospitable house of Mr. Johnson, Innkeeper, we relieved our importunate Appetites—Some disappointment like this probably induced Shenstone to write his poem beginning,

*Who'er has travell'd Life's dull round,  
Where'er his various fate has been;  
May blush to think, how oft he's found,  
His warmest welcome at an Inn—*

GREENEVILLE, so called in Honour of General Green, is the County Town of Pitt County; it is situated on the Southeast side of Tar River, at this place about 90 or 100 yards over, when the River is low; tho' near a Mile wide when there are freshes in the River, and it is here about ten feet deep.—The Village consists of about fifteen families, and is a place of some Trade, the planters in the vicinity, bringing their produce to this Landing. The Town stands high and pleasant.

Mr. Jones and I, after eating our Breakfasts walked to Messrs. Easton and Wright's Store at the bank of the River, with the latter I had some business, the former was my fellow passenger,

<sup>23</sup> "They neglected to ask us whether we had breakfasted." This was probably not from lack of hospitality on the part of Miss Betsey Grimes, but was occasioned by the strict etiquette of that day. A young lady of her high position would have committed a social error had she entertained strange young men in the absence of her parents. Her mother was dead and her father and brother absent on business, therefore, "they seemed rather embarrassed with our company."

Mr. Easton invited us to drink some Punch with him, before we continued our Journey, this we did, not because we wanted any, but it is a maxim with me in general not to reject the proffered civilities of any Man: we walked up to his lodgings where I saw his daughter little Sylvia my fellow passenger from Philadelphia—Just as we were about to set off from Greeneville, it began Raining and appeared likely to continue to rain the whole day, we had our Horses led to the Stable again, and after waiting two or three hours, appearances being more favourable, we crossed to the North side of the River in a small Scow and pursued our way—

We rode about 10 Miles, to the house of Wm. Tuton and were informed there, that he was gone to Tarborough and was not expected home for several days, this determined me to accompany Mr. Jones to that place, we accordingly rode on five Miles further and about night fall arrived at the house of Mrs. Cobb, an ancient woman, who keeps a petty Ordinary—We concluded to stay here all night, not being sure of obtaining a lodging in Tarborough if we went there, as we had heard that every house was crowded, the Assembly being then met at that place. Mrs. Cobbs' house consisted of two Apartments, one was the sitting Room, the floor was of Clay or dirt, and there was one Bed in the Room—The other Apartment was floored with Boards and contained four good Beds, two on each side of the Room.—*Mrs. Cobb*; is a Woman between 83 and 84 years of Age, as she told me; she was born in the Isle of Wight County, Virginia, she retains her faculties and is as brisk and lively as most Women of 30 years of Age—She waits on Travellers herself and even goes to the Stable and takes care of their Horses herself. This not from necessity, having assistance enough if she chooses it; but seems to plume herself on her activity, and attention to her Guests and to their Horses—This Woman has near 50 descendants Children, Grandchildren, and Great Grandchildren—We complained on entering the House that the Fire was almost out, she went and brought a load of Wood, threw it on, and with a pleasant air said "There it will be a fire when it burns"—alluding I suppose to the Story of the Fox that made the Ice smoke—We were furnished with a very indif-

ferent supper; but our Horses being well taken care of in regard to food and each one being fastened by himself in a cover'd log Pen, we getting clean and good beds for ourselves were not uneasy.—

Mr. Van Noorden<sup>24</sup> and another Gentleman arrived in the course of the evening at this Stage we were now four Guests but we got each of us a bed to ourselves.—

*Thursday, December 20.* We were alarmed in our Quarters before day, by the firing of Muskets at some little distance from the house in which we lay—We found that the firing was at a school House in the neighborhood, of our Quarters, with powder only; tis the custom here for School Boys upon the approach of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, to rebel against their School-master, in order to force him to grant them a holiday; the boys rise early in the Morning and go to the School House, which is considered as their Fort, they barricade the Door and Windows, carry into the house with them victuals and blankets, with water and wood, sufficient to sustain the Siege that they expect from the Master; Upon his approach at the usual School hours, he finds himself shut out, he demands the cause, the Garrison acquaints him that they are determined to have a holiday, this is frequently denied, and now commences the Siege, the Master tries to force his way into the house, they resist him by every means in their power, and sometimes give him some very serious hard knocks, throw Stones &c. It is generally looked upon as a piece of fun; the Master pretends to be solicitous to subdue them, and if he catches any Stragler from the Fort, he will flog him heartily & it is understood on these occasions that the boys are to be peaceable, except during the actual storm of the enemy, when they are at liberty to maul him to their hearts content—This Scene is sometimes continued many days, at last the Master proposes terms, that he grants them so many days holiday; which if satisfactory being accepted by the Garrison, peace is again established in the little community. Sometimes however the Master not being a

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<sup>24</sup>A street in the town of Washington commemorates Mr. Van Noorden's ownership of a part of the original land.

good humour'd Man & not entering into their views, finds means to subdue the Garrison, and threshes the Ringleaders heartily—

- Jones and I, set out about Sunrise from Mrs. Cobb's and rode eleven Miles to Tarborough before breakfast—riding over a Bridge built of Wood at the Town, over Tar River.

TARBOROUGH, is the County Town of Edgecombe County; it is situated on the Southeast side of Tar River, at this place about eighty yards over, the Town contains about twenty Families, and for the size of it has a considerable Trade, it is the highest Town on the River, and Boats seldom go above this place.—The houses are all of Wood—It is situated on a high flat piece of Ground, and is a very pleasant place.

There is an Inspection house here for the reception and examination of Tobacco, and I am told there is brought to it annually 1400 Hogsheads.—

Tobacco is brought to the Inspecting house at this Landing sometimes in Waggon's but more usually rolled, and from the distance of a hundred Miles or more—When brought in Waggon's it is pitch'd from the tail of the Waggon's without fear of Staving, if judiciously dropt, so as to let the end of the Staves strike the ground first. The method of rolling it to the Landing is as follows two rough Wheels or Cleets are made to the Cask by fixing on, with strong wooden Pins, pieces of Wood hewn in shape like the fellows of a Wheel; these are fastened to the hogshead, at the quarters, or near each end of the Cask; next an axle is made by driving into each end of the Cask, a piece of Wood; squared at one end, to answer a square hole in the heading; this to prevent the Axle from turning in the Cask;—the Shank of it left without the Cask, is made round; a rough pair of Shafts are now prepared, in the ends of which, are holes for those round Shanks to work in as the Hogshead rolls over, sometimes a small square box, is built upon the Shafts, for carrying Victuals, a blanket, or other things; each Hogshead is drawn by two Horses; one placed before the other; and each Horse has usually a Saddle upon his back for the Men bringing the Tobacco to ride when they choose it; and I observed that in coming into Tarborough, they mostly

availed themselves of the indulgence; and came riding into Town with the Tobacco rolling after them. They throw away the Shafts on their arrival and return home on horseback.

It may be here observed that Pitch, Tar, & Turpentine are rolled to the Landing from the Woods, partly in the same manner; in these, the Axle, is one Stick drove quite through the Cask, and wedged so as not to work loose, leaving a Shank at each end which when it arrives, is sawed off, leaving the rest of the Stick in the barrel—They do not take the trouble to fix Cleets to the barrels, the cask rolls upon the Hoops,—Two barrels are often drawn together, the last one is fixed by a box at each end reaching to the end of the Shafts.

The manner of managing Tobacco at the Inspecting house is this—The planter driving up near the door, disengages his Horses; then knocks and splits off the cleets or fellows, which with the Shafts are thrown away; the remains of the wooden pins which fasten'd the Cleets are drove into the Tobacco, till the heads of them are quite through the Staves, that the Cask may Slip off the Tobacco the easier, the Shanks of the Axles are sawed off, the other part remains in the Tobacco and is disregarded: next the Hogshead being set on one end, the hoops of the end now uppermost are taken off and that head taken out; then the Cask with the Tobacco is gently eased down on the bilge, or side, and then the end before downward is raised uppermost; so that the Tobacco now bearing on the Ground, the Cask may be lifted quite away from it, leaving the Tobacco standing without a Case; and easy to be inspected. The work hitherto is done by the Countryman or his Assistant; Now the Inspector is called, who bringing a Crow bar drives it into the Tobacco where he chooses, raising a mass or Cheese of it, so as to examine it in about three different strata or parts of it; if found to be good and merchantable, it is passed and allowed as such. The empty Cask with the head and Hoops being now carried to the large Scales belonging to the Inspection is weighed, and whatever it weighs is marked upon the head, being by Merchants called the Tare of the Cask; next the Cask being again put over the Tobacco, it is again upset, the head and



hoops fixed as at first, then being rolled to the Scales the Cask and Tobacco therein are weighed together, and the gross weight being marked on the head, over the Tare weight first marked; the neat weight of Tobacco may easily be known by subtracting the Tare. The Inspector now makes an entry in his Warehouse Book, of the Hogshead with the weight, and affixes a Number to the Cask, which he also enters in his Book; he gives to the planter a Note or receipt for the Cask of Tobacco, expressing the Number, weight and Tare, and receives the Hogshead of Tobacco into the Warehouse, where it may lay till the Tobacco of the next Year comes in; the Planter pays for its examination and Storing Five Shillings.—The Planter has now no further trouble with the Tobacco; his Note or Receipt is transferable like a Bill of Credit merely by the possession of it, and he may sell his Note when or where he pleases; the buyer when he wants to remove the Tobacco, presenting the Note, and the identical hogshead is delivered to him—Confusion is prevented, by numbering all the Tobacco that comes into the Warehouse in one Crop, regularly from No. 1 to the end.

If the Planter has any ordinary Tobacco in his Cask, it is taken out, and he may sell it to whom he pleases, but cannot get a Note for it. The Inspection or Warehouse is a large framed house of Wood; it is 160 feet long and about 50 feet broad.—It is near the bank of the River.

A new regulation is proposed in this State in regard to Tobacco to class it in three divisions, No. 1, to be of the first quality, No. 2, of the second sort, and No. 3, to include all ordinary and trash Tobacco however mean without rejecting any.

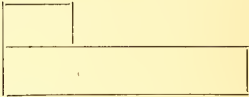
We found upon our arrival at Tarborough the place much crowded; the Legislature being sitting for the dispatch of business—The size of the Town appear'd so inadequate to the comfortable accomodation of a Legislature composed of about 120 Commons or Delegates and about 60 Senators, together with the people attending the Sessions in business or going there on motives of pleasure that you will not easily believe that it was possible to



provide for them, Yet provided for they were. and they said themselves, very comfortably; One old Countryman said that he had cause to be satisfied that he lived there much better than at home.—

Captain Toole a Trader, and for the time Innkeeper provided for 40 or 50 Members, with a great number of others; every family almost received some of the Members; Beds were borrowed from the Country, 3 or 4 placed in a room, and two of their Honors in a Bed—provisions were in plenty, Horses were mostly sent to Farms in the vicinity of the Town—Mr. Faulkner who formerly resided sometime in Philadelphia brought hither his E O Table; Gambling was carried to great extent, at this Table and also at other Games; at times several of my acquaintances have told me of their losses,—A Trader of Newbern lost in one night 600 pounds—Some attempts were made to represent some dramatic pieces, but with very bad success—Two of the Actresses were Adventuresses from Charleston. I rode up to the house of Captain Toole, situated at a corner of two Streets, in the middle of the Street that crosses by the side of his house there was a place for horses to stand, composed of two posts set in the ground at about 15 feet distance from each other on the tops rested a cross piece with Pins at intervals for fastening the Bridles, here stood a dozen horses, and here I fix'd mine with the rest—till I should be able to get a place for him—Going into the front Room I found the Table laid for Breakfast in two rows, I waited some time by the fire side, when the Breakfast being brought in, I hung up my Hat and without any Ceremony took my Seat amongst the Crowd; Legislators, Planters and Merchants, After being all seated I lifted up my eyes and saw that I had committed a faux pas, every Man but me had kept his Hat on—However this made but little difference, I only determined to keep it on next time—We had a tolerable Breakfast—my friend Jones, had gone to breakfast with an acquaintance—I found Mr. Thomas Stuart here whom I had seen at Newbern, he kindly offered to show me the way to the Court house where the Assembly sat, having accepted his

offer, we walk'd up; the Court House is a large wooden building

of two Apartments, built in this form  and

standing on brick Pillars; in the long Room the Commons met, in the other the Senate—Any person is at liberty to go and hear the debates of either House, Standing uncover'd without their Bar—The bar at the Senate was a Board laid across two old Trunks, standing on the ends which served very well pro tem.

The Bar of the Commons House was the Court Room Bar—Every Member sat with his Hat on except when addressing the Chair—The business before the house not being very interesting I soon retired—But soon after hearing that the new Governor was to be Sworn into Office I returned. There was now a joint Meeting of the two houses in the large Room, a Committee of 3 or 4 gentlemen went to him, they walk'd together to the House all the Members rose on his entering, the usual Oath of Allegiance to the State and Oath of Office as Governor being by him distinctly repeated and sworn, he retired to his lodgings, there being no Ceremony of Proclamation—

Retiring from thence, I soon after met my fellow passenger Mackie, taking a walk with him We called at Mr. Clement's Store, I was introduced to him—Next I took a walk to the house of my friend Richard Blackledge, he was at home and introduced me to his Wife, an elegant Woman, to Miss Brannon and to Miss Hill who were at his house,—He invited me to dine—

Leaving Blackledge—I was introduced to Mr. — Ross, a Merchant—At dinner I returned to Richard Blackledge's, here was a large Company, amongst others Judge Williams<sup>25</sup>. I was introduced to some of the Company, and during Dinner an Argument arose between one of the Gentlemen present, and the Judge, respecting Slaves; the Judge wished that there was an immediate addition of One hundred Thousand Slaves to the State; I soon became a Party and we had a good deal of conversation on the subject I principally endeavour'd to shew the political inexperience

<sup>25</sup>Judge Williams of Williamsboro.

dience of the practice of keeping Slaves by argument on the advantages a State having none but Free Citizens must have over a State encumber'd with Slaves in case of a contest for power; and by shewing the disadvantages to posterity from the practice.—With just glancing a few hints on the general rights of Mankind, such as I thought that my auditory might bear—The Judge frankly declared that his views were for the present ease and affluence; and said that he admitted our Great Grandchildren wou'd be Slaves.—Here seemed to rest our Argument. I now took a walk, afterwards Mr. Jones coming to look for me I return'd to Tea in the evening, Doctr. Williamson was there to whom I was introduced. After some Conversation I took a walk up to Tooles, here I saw my fellow passenger Billy Ford, he had a black eye and wore a silk Handkerchief tied over it, upon enquiry into the cause of this disaster, he inform'd me that there had been, an evening or two before a jovial meeting of some of the members of the Legislature, in the Court House, when he standing up to entertain them with the exhibition of “Bucks have at ye all” Some of the Company grew riotous, Somebody threw an Orange Skin and hit him in the eye. Somebody also threw the Leg of a Turkey which miss'd him, but fell not, guiltless to the floor, giving Toole a violent blow on the back.— He invited me to go upstairs to be introduced to some great Men, but I was engaged—

Soon after parting with Ford my attention was engaged by a Quarrel in one of the Rooms below a Stout Man in Liquor wanting to fight with another Man not so disposed;—He endeavour'd all in his power by opprobrious words & otherwise to provoke the quiet Man to strike him first, in order to avoid being indicted for an assault, and as the phrase is here “To Quit the Law,” amongst other expedients he lay down on the Floor, upon his back with his Legs and Arms extended calling “Now strike me” “Kick me”—Stamp upon me”—but his Adversary was not to be provoked to give him an opportunity to make battle with impunity.— After taking a drink of Porter with my friend John Whitall at Toole's, tired with the different Scenes of the day I began to think of a bed—I had asked of Mackie to let me have a part of his Bed in the Store, I went there, he told me I could be accomodated with

a spare Bed in the house, and going out Mr. Gilchrist his brother's partner came in, and invited me into the house, here he introduced me to Samuel Johnston Esqr. the new Governor, to General McDowell, and other Gentlemen, Colo. Davie was here, to whom I was introduced at Newbern,

The Governor and I, had a long conversation on various topics, and I retired to bed pretty late.

*Friday, December 21.* I breakfasted at Capt. Toole's—Afterwards I saw William Ford who invited me to dine with him, this did not suit today, he invited me to call in the forenoon and take a glass of Wine with him, this I did—

Having this Morning seen Mr. Gilchrist, he told me that he had expected me to Breakfast: he invited me to dine with him, and desired that David Jones would come also.— I took a walk to the Tobacco Inspection; the price of that article is 50/ per 100 lb. part to be paid in Goods— David Jones and I went to dine at Mr. Gilchrist's, after Dinner the Governor came in; most of the Company except him retiring, he & I had a long tête à tête Conversation— He kindly invited me to pay him a Visit if I should come in the neighborhood of Edenton where he resides, which I Promised. In the evening I went to visit William Tuton at Mr. Greir's, here was Benjamin Brown and William Ford— In the evening I walk'd to Richard Blackledge's where I took Tea, then returned to Mr. Greir's where I eat Supper— Two back country Assembly Men came in, one named Gardner from Surry County, we had a long conversation on the subject of paper Money; one of the Assembly Men seemed to think Merchants of little benefit to the Country and said that he wished there were none for 100 Years to come. It growing late we could not end our subject, but the Assembly Men said that next evening they were at our service for further debate. I staid and slept with Benjamin Brown.

*Saturday, December 22.* I breakfasted and dined at Toole's. There was Snow, Sleet and Rain all day—They were out of Wood at Toole's, and we suffer'd there for want of Fire— In the evening I saw Mr. Gilchrist, he invited me to lodge at his House, letting me know that he expected me last night. I drank Chocolate there.

The Governor was there, and I had another long tête à tête Conversation the early part of the evening with him on the Slavery of the Negroes, on Liberty, about many of our acquaintances; their Houses &c. General McDowell<sup>26</sup> afterwards came in, we had a deal of conversation, he told us about his Wars with the English, the Indians, and the Bears; he was one of those Commanders who defeated & killed Colo. Ferguson at King's Mountain, he is an elderly Man his Locks are beginning to Silver over. General McDowell related his killing some Bears nearly as follows—

“There was a large old Tree with a hole in it, very high up, some of us went there, and we thought it was likely there was a Bear down that hole, I got an Indian Ladder (this is a Saplin with the Limbs cut off, about a foot from the Stock so as to take hold with the hands and feet in clim'ing) this Ladder, I set up against the Tree, and getting a long Pole with a flaming brand on the end of it, got up the Ladder, with the Pole, and held the Fire to the hole in the Tree which soon took Fire, the Smoke and heat forced out a full grown Bear who descended so fast, I was at last obliged to drop myself to the ground, here I had left my Gun, and just as the Bear was reaching the Ground, I fired and broke his back, we then dispatched him with the Axe, — Soon after another Bear called a Yearling came out and descended we knock'd him on the head also with the Axe— And there came out of the hole, one more Bear, also a Yearling, he ran out upon the boughs of the Tree, and there being a bad Marksman in the Company, We set him to Shoot this Bear, and after firing many times he at last hit him and brought him down—”

As I grew very sleepy I retired to bed. This evening the Assembly finished their Session and broke up.

*Sunday, December 23.* It is very much the custom in North Carolina to drink Drams of some kind or other before Breakfast; sometimes Gin, Cherry-bounce, Egg Nog &c. several of the Assembly Men, this Morning indulged themselves in this respect.

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<sup>26</sup>General McDowell was probably Charles McDowell as he was older than his brother Joseph; both were participants in the battle of King's Mountain.



General Thomas Parsons came in and staid a short time—I breakfasted at Mr. Gilchrist's and dined at Captain Toole's.

The Assembly Men push'd out of Town this forenoon in great numbers, many of them appearing very anxious to get home.

In the afternoon I paid a visit at Richard Blackledge's, drank Tea there. The company there, were Mrs. Harvey<sup>27</sup>, Doctor Williamson<sup>28</sup>, Major Blount, Colonel Thomas, &c. We had a good deal of conversation.

I went to Mr. Gilchrist's to lodge.

*Monday, December 24.* I breakfasted at Mr. Gilchrist's today, & dined at Capt. Toole's, I visited William Tuton upon business, he offers payment in Lands for a demand we have, could not agree about the terms.

The Assembly of North Carolina, consists of two Commons and one Senator for each County in the State; of these Counties there are about sixty.

The Legislature meet the first Monday in November by Law,—Some of them came to the Assembly to Tarborough 800 Miles, these came from the settlements about Cumberland River. These Members encamp in the Woods returning home, part of the way; the country is settled as far back as 3 or 400 Miles.

In the evening I rode out to Edward Hall's Farm about two Miles from Tarborough upon business, he inviting me to stay all night, I accepted his invitation—The evening Moon light, and has been a fine day.

*Tuesday, December 25.* This Morning according to North Carolina custom we had before Breakfast, a drink of EGG NOG, this compound is made in the following manner: In two clean Quart

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<sup>27</sup>"Mrs. Harvey" was Ann Blount, widow of James Harvey, the young son of Col. John Harvey the distinguished Moderator of the Assembly held at New Bern, in 1774. She made the trip on horseback from Pitt county across the mountains into Tennessee to visit her brother, Gov. William Blount. She died there and her remains rest near his in the Presbyterian churchyard, in Knoxville, Tenn.

<sup>28</sup>Doctor Hugh Williamson, though born in Pennsylvania, was largely associated with North Carolina. He represented Edenton in the House of Commons in 1782, and was sent to Congress from that district in 1784. He was one of the signers of the Constitution from this State. He was again in Congress from 1790 to 1792. He wrote a history of North Carolina in 1812.



Bowls, were divided the Yolks and whites of five Eggs, the yolks & whites separated, the Yolks beat up with a Spoon, and mixt up with brown Sugar, the whites were whisk'd into Froth by a Straw Whisk till the Straw wou'd stand upright in it; when duly beat, the Yolks were put to the Froth; again beat a long time; then half a pint of Rum pour'd slowly into the mixture, the whole kept stirring the whole time till well incorporated.

After Breakfasting I returned to Tarborough. I dined with Andrew Grier. After dinner saw a dance of Negroes to the Banjo in his Yard.

In the afternoon I set off for Washington, after riding a few Miles I overtook Brown, Tuton &c. who were going down the Road,—We stopt at Mrs. Cobb's, took a drink, and rode to Jone's Tavern being some in the night.

We arrived in the height of a quarrel there between two Men; the Landlady applied to me to part 'em, I told her "No, let them settle their own differences."—They were going to fight out in the Road, when one of the company declared he wou'd massacre the Man who should attempt to Gouge, (that is, endeavors to run his thumbs into the eyes of the other, scoop out his eye balls) Womble, one of the disputants declared "I cannot fight without a Gouge" One of the company supported his declaration saying "Ay! A Gouge all weathers, by G—. the terms were not accepted; their passions cooled by degrees and the gouging Man said, "tho I am but a little "Shoemaker, I won't be imposed upon" I replied You may be a Shoemaker perhaps, but you are

*[A page of manuscript is missing here]*

In some places on the way, there appears amongst the Trees a very luxuriant herbage one sort called Reed, appearing like our Meadow Tussocks 'as we call them, is now green and continues so all winter—And another kind which now looks brown, like dead Grass, but grows green toward Spring,—both are excellent for Cattle—

The Settlements along this Road are but few—I was overtaken in the Woods by a Man in a homespun Jacket and ragged Trous-

ers, mounted on a Poney a little bigger than a Goat, the first notice I had of him was by his giving a Whistle behind me.

I grasped a loaded Whip, and turn'g it in my hand; looking round me, with some little apprehension from the loneliness of the place—He came up, and rode about two or three Miles with me when he left me. I found by his conversation that he was a Tar burner. We had a variety of Chat,—Amongst other talk he told me that two Wolves had been killed about a fortnight before near the place we then were—

After parting with this honest fellow, I rode on, trusting my Horse to chuse the Road and his choice . . . did credit to his Sagacity—except once where there happen'd to be a Post of direction—Here he Seem'd to incline to go contrary to the direction on the Post which conduct I could not account for as it was clear he was not making homeward, till afterwards upon enquiry I found his Owner had been used to ride up that Road while Courting the lady now his Wife; and that place was still the habitation of some agreeable young Ladies,—perhaps his intention was to introduce me there.—

After riding 25 Miles I arrived at Mr. Pearce's where I got dinner and rested my Horse. There was playing at his door five Negroe Children every one dress'd in a Shirt only—Clothes are not bestowed on these Animals with much profusion—At Johnson's one was Walking abot. the Court Yard absolutely naked, and in Newbern I saw a boy thro' the Street with only a Jacket on, and that unbuttoned.—

From Pearce's I rode five Miles to Mr. Blount's Ferry at Tar River here two Negroes rowed me over to the Washington Shore where I landed at Sunset—

Being foud of remarking upon the tempers of Men and upon human Nature in general, under every appearance and circumstance I thought proper to interrogate Polydore one of the Negroes who rowed me, in respect to his condition as follows—

ATTMORE, Where was you born, boy?

POLYDORE, I was born in Guinea.

ATTMORE, Don't you want to go back to your Country?

The other Negroe answers—He is fast, he can't go.

POLYDORE, I have learnt another Language now, they will kill me if I go back to my home—

ATTMORE, How came you brought from yr. Country,

POLYDORE, I went with many more to attack a town, where they were too strong for us, they killed a great many, and took 140 of us prisoners, and sold us.—

ATTMORE, Had you not better have let them alone and remained in peace at home?

POLYDORE, No—My Nation always fight that Nation—

ATTMORE, And what would do if you return'd to your Country now, wou'd you be quiet?

POLYDORE, No—I go there, and fight 'em worse than ever.—

As we got to Shore at this period, I gave my two ragged Ferry-men a small present, for which they were thankful—And Galloped up the Shore to my former Quarters at Blackledge's Here I found Miss Sally Salter, & Miss Absoley Kennedy,

*[The remainder of the manuscript has been lost, save the next page, a fragment descriptive of New Bern.]*

NEWBERN, is a Town situated on a point or Neck of Land at the confluence of the Rivers Neuse and Trent, each of these Rivers are at the Town about three quarters of a Mile wide, the Town contains about 500 or 600 Houses which are mostly built of Wood, this place is generally reckon'd to be the Capital of North Carolina, tho' the Legislature do not always meet there, the Neuse is navigable for Sea Vessels about—miles above the Town and for Scows and Flats about      Miles—The Trent is navigable above the Town for Sea Vessels about      Miles and for Flats and Scows about      Miles—

There is an elegant house in this place called the Palace, formerly the residence of the Governor many of the houses are large and commodious some are one story and some two Stories high.

There are to many of the houses Balconies or Piazzas in front and sometimes back of the house, this Method of Building is found convenient on account of the great Summer Heats here—These Balconies are often two Stories high, sometimes one or

both ends of it are boarded up, and made into a Room. There are convenient Wharves at Newbern, these are mostly on the Trent side of the Town where the Shipping generally lay—Vessels drawing 9 feet water can come up to the place—There is a small church<sup>29</sup> here with a square tower, Cupola and Bell & it is the only place of Worship in the Town. This place being the County Town of Craven County, there is a brick Goal here, and a Court House, the latter is raised on Arches; the Courts being held upstairs, the lower part serves for a Market place; tho' but little provisions are carried there; people coming in Boats or Canoes sell their Marketting at the River side.

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<sup>29</sup>This was the present "Christ Church" New Bern, originally Craven Parish, established by the Vestry Act of 1715. (See Colonial Records Vol. II p. 209). The two royal Governors, Tryon and Martin attended this church during their occupancy of the Palace. A very handsome silver communion service and alms basin, also Bible and Prayer Book, each bearing the Royal arms, the silver engraved "presented by George the II, King of England," are in the possession of the present Christ Church. The records of this Parish were destroyed by fire many years ago, and the tradition to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary is that these particular articles were presented to Christ Church by George II.

However, Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire is inclined to the belief that this eucharistic service with accompanying Prayer Book and Bible were originally given to the Royal Chapel of St. Philips, at old Brunswick and that when New Bern became the seat of the Royal Government under William Tryon he transferred these sacred and beautiful articles to Christ Church, New Bern, and gave it the distinction of being the "Royal Chapel."

To the historian this belief is quite tenable and only enhances the historic interest that clusters around this old Parish.













